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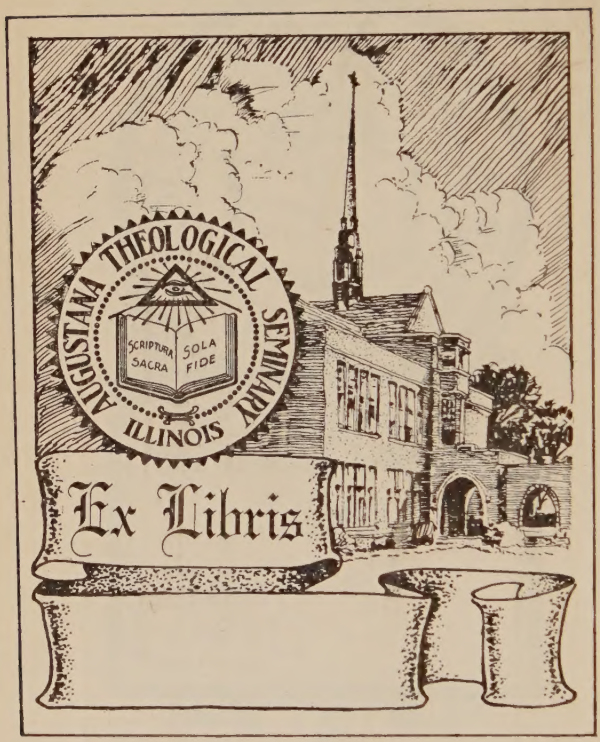
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The Great Renunciation

Leaves from the Story of Luther's Life

By W. H. T. DAU

ST. LOUIS, MO.
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ERRATA.

p. 7, line 4 from bottom: Reverend for "Reverent."
p. 39, line 1 from bottom: put comma after "hold."
p. 49, line 26 from top: would for "could."
p. 59, line 1 of note 139): Dovizzi for "Dovizi."
p. 81, line 18 from top: bishop for "hishop."
p. 85, line 19 from bottom: anything for "anythnig."
p. 85, line 1 from bottom: put quotation-mark after Volta.
p. 94, line 10 from bottom: read "reputation."
p. 97, line 14 from top: put comma after "particularly."
p. 107, line 4 from top: read "cites."
p. 108, line 1 from top: read "conflict."
p. 109, line 17 from top: put semicolon after "Spirit."
p. 112, line 23 from top: read "Abusionibus."
p. 113, line 18 from top: read "revilings."
p. 115, line 13 from bottom: read "had."
p. 133, line 21 from top: read "years."
p. 136, line 19 from bottom: destroy "not only" and transfer "are" to next line after "Church."
p. 136, line 10 from bottom: move comma after "soon."
p. 158, line 1 from top: read "abjured."
p. 164, line 16 from bottom: put comma after "purpose."
p. 172, line 8 from top: read "obedience."
p. 195, line 9 from top: put comma after "Palace."
p. 208, line 18 from bottom: change semicolon to comma.
p. 209, footnote 470 found on next page.
p. 220, line 7 from top: read "hair."
p. 237, destroy line 3 from top, and substitute: witch of Ingolstadt, a good friend of Eck, is to go to Leipzig.
p. 287, line 17 from bottom: insert quotation-mark after "ecclesiastic."
p. 320, line 1 from top: insert "of" after "Summary."
p. 324, line 24 from top: read "become."
p. 334, line 15 from bottom: put comma after "learned."
p. 342, last line: insert 35 ff. after II.
p. 344a, place "Councils" before "Counsels."
p. 346b, read "Loewenstein."

PREFACE

"Das grosse Jahr 1520"—so Kolde (*Martin Luther*, I, 223) inscribes one of the richest chapters in his biography of Luther. History has engraved Anno Domini Fifteen Hundred and Twenty on an iron tablet in letters deep and strong and large. To the young reformer, thirty-seven years old, that year represents the crisis in his life-work. On the crest of a rapidly rising tide he is urging his frail little craft through pounding waves and howling storms into apparently certain disaster. Do or die! reads the parole nailed to his masthead. And a nation, aye, the Church of all ages, the believers in all lands that have heard of him, are watching in breathless awe and anguished hope the outcome of his hazardous enterprise. On the success of this lone, struggling man hangs the fate of millions of men in the years to come. The womb of time is big with blessed fruit, and it is close to the birth-hour.

The events here narrated lead up to Luther's break with Rome, and that accounts for the choice of the title of this book. As in the monograph on the Leipzig Debate, which preceded this narrative, and which in many places dovetails into its scenes, the object has been to exhibit history in the making, to show men just as they were and things just as they happened, good, bad, and indifferent, in seemingly hopeless confusion, but in a hopeful struggle for disintegration, such as human life in its period of probation here on earth always has been and ever will be, until the final parting of the incongruous elements will arrive.

The narrative throughout has received its coloring from the condition of the Roman papacy, but it is not intended to be a mere description of the corrupt hierarchy of the day. That is merely the stage setting for the scenes here depicted, the antithetical background for the positive truths which are forging their way to the center of the stage. It is in behalf of these truths, with their priceless value, their perennial freshness, and their immortal vitality, that these sketches were attempted. Rome, with all its prestige and power, is, after all, a mere incident in God's grand design of world order: His truth,

and the constant battling to which it is calling loyal hearts all the time, are the one great matter of primary importance and abiding interest to all who take life seriously. To enable the reader to acquaint himself directly and with some degree of thoroughness with the real principles for which Luther fought, the important writings and letters of Luther during this period have been either reproduced entire or sketched in exhaustive summaries in the body of this tale and in appendices, particularly the three memorable writings which have made the year 1520 "the great year" in the life of the Reformer, the year when virtually the program of the entire Reformation was written.

The author hopes to be forgiven for inserting here a personal reminiscence which has had some bearing on the resolution to write this review. At the time of his entering the theological seminary in 1883 the encyclical of Leo XIII, in which Luther is branded as an apostate and revolutionary, had just been published. The first evening lecture by the president of the institution to which the author listened, dwelt, in its introductory portions, on the appalling effrontery of a pope lauded for his intelligence and liberality in hurling such an insult at millions of enlightened persons in our times. The impressions received during that evening lecture have never been effaced from the writer's mind, and he has bent his studies for many years to the effort of discovering what truth there might be in the charge that Luther was a renegade to the faith of all the ages and a seditious person. The present review is part of the answer which he has been able to wrest from the pages of the history of Luther's own time.

To facilitate and quicken research work, references to original documents and valuable criticism are given page for page, instead of a comprehensive bibliography at the beginning. This method, which was adopted for the treatise on the Leipzig Debate, the author has been assured, has gained the approval of critical readers and students of history. May God's blessing rest also on this humble attempt to reiterate a faithful testimony that deserves never to be forgotten!

W. H. T. Dau.

St. Louis, Mo., February 8, 1920.

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1. A Reverie Before a Shattered Idol.

The place is Luther's study at Wittenberg, and the time the summer of 1538. Luther is writing the Preface to a collection of theses for theological debates on matters relating to the papacy which he had conducted at the University of Wittenberg,[1] and which were published in the fall of that year. Twenty-one years had passed since he had ventured into the arena of public debate as a timid searcher after light and truth. The questions which had agitated men's minds at that time had meanwhile been brought to a decision. The Church which had been torn with the fiercest conflict in its history was settling, at least as far as the relation of the Evangelical party to Rome was concerned, into the condition of a permanent rupture. The decision had been reached; the schism had come, and Luther's side had accepted it as a deplorable, yet unavoidable, solution of a baffling difficulty.

A small man looking backward over the illustrious path that had been traversed during the last two decades might have been seized with the bragging spirit and given himself over to self-flattery. For the changes that had been wrought, not only in the external condition of the Church, but still more in the inner life of its members, and in the social relations of mankind at large, were truly astonishing. A great blow had been struck in defense of

1) These "disputationes" formed part of the theological training which students received in those days. They were conducted ordinarily every Friday, and on extraordinary occasions, such as the graduation of magisters and doctors, as part of the work required of applicants for a degree.

the liberty wherewith Christ has made men free. The victor might have reclined on his laurels and condescended to receive the eulogies of his admirers.

In Luther's instance the retrospect to which his mind was invited by the work before him in those dog-days of 1538 led to an introspection, and the somber reflections which crowded his reminiscent mind were deposited in the Preface, in the form of the following confession:—

Dr. Martin Luther to the Pious Reader—Greeting.

I permit the publication of my Disputations, or Theses, which have been discussed since the beginning of my controversy with the papacy and the leading sophists of the time, chiefly to the end that I may not become lifted up with the magnitude of the affair and the success which God has bestowed on it. For in these Theses my disgrace is publicly exhibited, that is, my weakness and ignorance, which compelled me at the beginning to enter upon this business with the greatest trembling and misgiving.

I was drawn into this affair alone, and without having foreseen it. While I could not retrace my steps, I not only yielded to the Pope in many and important articles of faith, but also continued to worship him. For at that time, who was I? An altogether miserable, insignificant little monk, more like a corpse than a living human being. And I was to run counter to the majesty of the Pope, before whom not only the kings of the earth and the entire world, but also heaven and hell (the threefold mechanism of the universe, as it has been called) stood in awe, and on whose nod everything hung!

All that my heart suffered in that first year and the year after, and how great my humility, which was not feigned, and my near despair was, alas! how little of this is known to those who later began, in proudest fashion, to assail the wounded majesty of the Pope. Although—to use Virgil's phrase—they did not compose these verses, they carried away the laurels; which, however, I do not begrudge them.

But while those people were spectators and left me in the lurch alone, I was not so cheerful, confident, and certain; for many things that I know now I did not know at that time. Yea, what indulgences were I did not know at all, nor did the entire papacy know anything about it. They were held in reverence merely because of an established custom and from habit. Accordingly, my disputation was not for the purpose of abolishing them, but because, knowing full well what they were not, I desired to know what they might be. And since the dead or dumb teachers, that is, the books of the theologians and jurists, did not satisfy me, I decided to call in the living for counsel,

and to hear the Church of God itself, in order that, if perhaps there were remaining anywhere instruments of the Holy Spirit, they might take pity on me, and, while profiting all, might also render me certain regarding the indulgences.[2]

Now, many good men extolled my Theses, but it was impossible for me to acknowledge them to be the Church and instruments of the Holy Ghost. I looked up to the Pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the theologians, the jurists, the monks, and expected the Spirit from them. For I had gorged and filled myself with their teaching to such an extent that I did not realize whether I was awake or sleeping. And after I had overcome all arguments with the Scriptures, I could in the end, even with the grace of Christ, scarcely get over this one point, except with the greatest difficulty and anguish, *viz.*, that we must hear the Church. For the Church of the Pope I regarded (and that with all my heart!) as the true Church, with much greater stubbornness and reverence than these abominable parasites are doing who are nowadays glorifying the Church of the Pope to spite me. If I had despised the Pope as his eulogizers are now doing, I would have believed that the earth must swallow me up that very minute, as it did Korah and his followers.

But to return to my subject, while waiting for the verdict of the Church and of the Holy Spirit, I was forthwith ordered to keep silent, and my superiors appealed to the prevailing custom. Frightened by the authority of the name of the Church, I yielded and declared myself ready to Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg to keep silent, begging him humbly to impose silence also on the clamorous opposition party. But he not only refused my request, but added that if I did not recant, he would condemn me and all my teachings, whatever they might be. But at that time I had already been teaching the Catechism[3] with no little success, and I knew that the Catechism must not be condemned, and that I must not permit this to be done, lest I should deny Christ.

I did not, however, intend at this time to relate my history, but I confess my foolishness, ignorance, and weakness, lest any man to follow the example of Paul[4]—should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, and in order that no one

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2) Luther did not include the Ninety-five Theses in this collection, although he calls the three first sets of theses in this collection "initium negocii evangelici," the beginning of the evangelical business. These three sets are: 1. Bernhardi's disputation on the Powers of Natural Man and against Scholasticism (see *Leipzig Debate*, pp. 213-218); 2. Guenther's disputation of Sept. 4, 1517, on the same subject (comp. *Leipzig Debate*, p. 15 f.); 3. Luther's disputation at Heidelberg (see *Leipzig Debate*, p. 218 ff.; the reference to be supplied at the end of this series is XVIII, 37-41). This shows what little doctrinal importance Luther attached to the Ninety-five Theses.

3) Luther refers to the sermons on the Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and to his efforts to inculcate the fundamental truths of the Christian religion on the people of Wittenberg, which he had begun as early as 1516.

4) 2 Cor. 12, 6.

may entertain a doubt—if that should be possible—that in those great conflicts I was human, and am still human. At the same time I would by my example scare those foolishly brave, inexperienced (I had almost said conceited), miserable writers who have not learned to know the cross and Satan, and who think it nothing now to overcome the Pope, yea, the devil himself. They consider it their duty to attack Luther, and when they have vanquished him, Satan is an object of ridicule to them.[5)]

There spoke a great heart. No note of triumph steals even faintly into this reverie, but only the awe of chastened sorrow is allowed to speak before the wreckage of one of earth's greatest idols that surrounds the speaker.

Rome, too, has pondered this confession of Luther. Grisar [6)] reproduces its striking points, however, only for the purpose of proving to the modern world, which in many ways allows the facts of history to be pilfered from her by cunning men, that the Lutheran reformation, by the acknowledgment of its author, was begun in ignorance and stupidity, and is one vast chain of blunders; yea, that throughout its progress the foremost leader in it was a man with a bad conscience. It is, therefore, worth the best effort of intelligent Lutherans, and truth-loving men in general, to trace the development of the crisis in Luther's life which had arrived in 1520, and which took him out of the Church of Rome.

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5) XIV, 450 ff.
6) *Luther*, I, 336.

2. The Plea to the Archbishop.

Two German church officials who were his immediate superiors were promptly informed by Luther of the posting of the Ninety-five Theses. One of these was Bishop Scultetus [7] of Brandenburg, the Inspector Ordinary of the church and university of Wittenberg. Luther's letter to him is lost,[8] though Mathesius [9] reports that the bishop was favorably impressed with the doctrinal arguments of the Theses, and merely questioned the wisdom of their publication. He is the only one of the bishops whom Luther addressed in regard to the sale of indulgences [10] that deigned to answer his letter.[11]

Scultetus is somewhat of a character-puzzle among the early actors in the Reformation drama. He is known to have acted on occasion with the full ecclesiastical power of the hierarch, and even the City Council and the clergy of Wittenberg had in a certain instance had a taste of his episcopal rigor. But in his communications with Luther he always appears courteous, as if conscious that he is dealing with a university professor of rising renown, and displays the airs of a benevolent patron and protector. For a time no one exercised such an influence

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7) This is the Latin transformation of the German Schulz, or Schultheiss. The bishop was the son of the village magistrate (*Schultheiss*) of Gramschitz, in the duchy of Glogau, in Silesia. He had been appointed to the See of Brandenburg in 1505; he died in 1522. XV, 406.)

8) Loescher, *Ref.-Akt.* I, 476.

9) *Hist. Luth.*, p. 13.

10) Myconius relates that Luther had written also to the bishops of Meissen, Frankfurt, Zeitz, and Merseburg. But this refers probably to a correspondence before the publication of the Theses. (*Reformationsgesch.*; p. 22.—XV, 384.)

11) Luther remembers this fact in 1541 in his treatise *Wider Hans Wurst* against Duke Henry of Brunswick. He says of the Bishop of Brandenburg: "I had a very gracious bishop in him. He answered me, saying that I was attacking the authority of the Church and would stir up much trouble for myself; he would advise me to desist. I can well imagine that he thought the Pope would be far too powerful over against such a miserable beggar as I was." (XVII, 1359 f.)

on Luther's decisions as Scultetus. Luther was captivated with this dignitary, and for five months, as we shall see, permitted himself to be gagged by him.[12]

The other official was the young Hohenzollern, whom the political power of the House of Brandenburg had raised to the primacy of Germany. Archbishop Albert (or Albrecht) of Mainz and one of the seven Electors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, was Luther's junior by ten years. A second son of the Elector Johann Cicero of Brandenburg and Margaret, daughter of Duke William of Saxony, Albert had early resigned his prospect of a coregency with his elder brother Joachim I. The two brothers were destined to play a considerable part in the early movements of the Reformation. Albert had chosen the Church as his sphere, though he had given no evidence of genius or great spirituality. His personal life, even while young, was openly immoral. At the age of eighteen (1508) he had become Canon of Mainz; five years later he was ordained to the priesthood, and in the same year was raised to be the head of the See of Magdeburg and to the administratorship of Halle. Within another year his influential family had captured for him from a somewhat reluctant Pope the archbishopric of Germany's greatest See, Mainz, with which went the Electorate. To be sure, this was a rather rapid and startling career for a young man twenty-four years old; but for the thrifty Brandenburgers it was nothing unusual. Nor was it an unusual procedure for the Curia to take care of the

12) Spalatin was deceived by Scultetus to the end. He holds that the Brandenburg Bishop would gladly have sided with the reformers if he could have been given a thorough insight into the movement. His premature death, before he had seen the real light of truth and realized the consolations of the Gospel, Spalatin thinks, prevented him from espousing Luther's cause. (*Annales*, p. 37; XV, 409.) This view does honor to Spalatin's kind heart, but is hardly borne out by the facts of history as known now.

dynastic interests of a great reigning family by providing a splendid sinecure for an expropriated second son. Albert's resignation in favor of his brother was a great bargain; it placed him in possession of one of the highest political posts, and gave him the leading ecclesiastical position in the German Empire. Excepting only the Emperor, and he only on secular questions, there was no one in Germany that ranked equal with Archbishop Albert.

In the third year of his archiepiscopal reign, and in the twenty-eighth year of his life, the memorable event took place at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, that was to startle all Europe. Luther wrote the Archbishop an account of what he had done, and gave the reasons for his action, the same day on which he posted his Theses.

Luther's letter was a cry of distress from the heart of a Christian pastor. Couched in terms of monkish submission and extreme self-depreciation, it is nevertheless a resolute effort to reach the heart and conscience of his ecclesiastical superior. In this letter the medieval monk in Luther is struggling with the rising evangelical pastor in him, and the latter leads in the argument and the plea.

Luther wrote as follows:—

Grace and the mercy of God, and all the devotion of which I am capable!

Very Reverend Father in God, Most Gracious Elector! Your Electoral Goodness will graciously bear with me, if I, the offscouring of men, have such an amount of temerity as to dare think of a letter to your exalted Sublimity. The Lord Jesus is my witness that, conscious of my insignificance and abject condition, I have long delayed what I am now putting through with a bold front, being moved thereto chiefly by my office which requires faithfulness in me, and which I profess that I owe to your Most Reverent Grace as my Father in Christ. May your Highness, then, deign to turn an eye to one who is dust and ashes, and, in accordance with your personal and episcopal clemency, note my request.

Papal indulgences are being hawked about under your illustrious name for the building of St. Peter's. In regard to these, I do not so much raise charges against the declamations of the preachers, whom I have not heard,[13] as I am pained at the false notions which the people conceive from them, and which they are spreading far and wide among the masses. For these unhappy souls believe that, if they buy letters of indulgence, their salvation is insured; likewise that souls leap out of purgatory the moment people drop their contributions into the box; finally, that such is the grace conferred that no sin is too great but absolution can be obtained for it, even if, as they say, taking an impossible example, one should have violated the mother of God; likewise, that by these indulgences a person is freed from all penalty and guilt.[14]

Good God! thus are the souls committed to your charge, kind Father, instructed unto death, and there is arising and growing a very severe reckoning, which you will have to pay for all of these.[15] For through no function of a bishop is a person rendered sure of his salvation if he has not been made sure also by the grace of God infused into him; but the apostle commands us to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, and says that scarcely the righteous shall be saved.[16] Moreover, the way that leads to life is so narrow that by the prophets Amos (chap. 4, 11) and Zechariah (chap. 3, 2) the Lord calls those that are to be saved brands plucked out of the burning; and everywhere the Lord declares that it is difficult to be saved.

How, then, can they make the people secure and void of fear by those false tales and promises concerning indulgences? For indulgences bestow on souls no good whatever that tends to their salvation and holiness, but take away only the external penance, which from olden times is usually imposed on them by canon law.[17]

Lastly, works of godliness and charity are infinitely better than indulgences;[18] and yet, these they do not proclaim with such pomp nor with such zeal; yea, they are silent about them for the sake of proclaiming indulgences, although this is the primary and only office of bishops to teach the people the Gospel and love of Christ. Nor did Christ anywhere order indulgences to be proclaimed, but He strenuously commands the Gospel to be preached. What an abomination, then, what a danger is it to a bishop, if, while the Gospel is silenced, he permits nothing but indulgences to be dinned into his people's ears, and is more concerned about indulgences than about the Gospel! Will not Christ say to such: "Ye that strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel"?[19]

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13) Tetzel did not enter Wittenberg, but came only as far as Jueterbogk, eight miles from Wittenberg.
14) These points Luther had touched in theses 32, 27, 75 and 21.
15) Comp. Thesis 80.
16) Phil. 2, 12; 1 Pet. 4, 18.
17) Comp. Thesis 5.
18) Comp. Thesis 43.
19) Matt. 23, 24

Add to this, Reverend Father in the Lord, that in the Instruction for Commissioners, published under the name of your Reverend and Fatherly Highness,[20] it is stated (surely, without your Reverend and Fatherly Highness' knowledge and consent!) that one of the principal gifts of grace (obtained by indulgences) is that priceless gift of God by which man is reconciled with God, and all purgatorial punishments are abolished; likewise, that contrition is not required of those who purchase the release of souls or confession-letters.[21]

But what else can I do, Very Reverend Bishop and Illustrious Elector, than to pray your Eminence by the Lord Jesus Christ to turn an eye of paternal concern to this matter, and to take away your Instruction altogether, and to impose some other form of preaching on the preachers of indulgences, lest perchance some one should at length arise to publish the Instruction and to confute them and their Instruction, to the great blame of your Illustrious Highness. That event I indeed deprecate vehemently; I fear, however, that it will happen, unless there is speedy redress.

I pray that your illustrious Grace may deign to accept these faithful offices of my insignificance in princely and episcopal fashion, that is, in kindness, even as I render them with a heart most faithful and devoted to your Fatherly Reverence; for I, too, am a member of your flock. May the Lord Jesus keep your Fatherly Reverence forever! Amen.

From Wittenberg, on the Eve of All Saints, in the year 1517.

If it pleases your Fatherly Reverence, Your Reverence might examine my enclosed Theses, in order to see what a doubtful matter is the notion of indulgences which those men imagine to be quite certain.

Your unworthy son, Martin Luther, Augustinian, duly called Professor of Sacred Theology.[22]

"Luther's charges," says a modern Catholic writer,[23] "are altogether groundless; the instructions of Albert are both wise and edifying." The value of this criticism depends entirely on the tenableness of the view which the writer holds of the sale of indulgences. If that can be shown to be a right and virtuous action, the Instruction to the Commissaries which was to direct that action, inasmuch as it might seem to serve a specified purpose, might be called "wise"; and inasmuch as it may delight the heart of an admirer of indulgences,

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20) XV, 301-333.
21) Comp. XV, 311 f. and 314 ff.
22) Erl. Brfw. I, 11 ff; XV, 390 ff. In excerpts in Smith, *Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, p. 42 f.
23) M. J. O'Malia, in *Cath. Encycl.* I, 262.

it may prove "edifying." But Luther had raised the question whether the principle underlying the sale of indulgences was ethical, and had pointed out the scandalous disorder which it wrought both in the exercise of pastoral functions and in society in general. "We declare," the Instruction stated, "that to obtain this twofold grace (complete remission of sins and confessional immunity) it is not necessary to go to confession, or to visit the appointed churches and shrines, but only to purchase the confession-letter."[24] This decision must operate like a writ of injunction on every pastor, enjoining him from interfering with his parishioners for whose spiritual status he nevertheless continued to be held responsible. The Instruction, moreover, made it compulsory on poor wives, children, monks, and nuns to go begging in order to obtain the price of an indulgence.[25] It gave the commissioners vast powers to commute religious vows and penitential exercises that had been imposed for a stipulated sum,[26] etc., etc. It turned acts of religion into business transactions. Instead of repentance, faith, and love, a person's willingness and ability to enter into a commercial scheme of high ecclesiastical finance became the marks of his spirituality. To the promoter of a commercial enterprise even war with its horrors may afford a delightful view and seem "wise and edifying," because he can make money by it.

Grisar is more discreet in rendering his opinion. He says:—

> It was a transaction which certainly was unworthy of so sacred a cause as that of an Indulgence, and which can only be explained by the evil customs of that day, the pressure applied by Albert's agents, and the influence of the avaricious Florentine party at the Papal Court. Though perhaps not actually simoniacal, it certainly cannot be approved. . . . It supplied Luther with

24) XV, 316.
25) XV, 314, 326
26) XV, 318 ff.

welcome matter for his charges and with a deceitful pretext for the seducing of countless souls.[27]

This does not mean that Grisar condemns the sale of indulgences, nor even that he condemns Tetzel: he merely criticizes the latter for certain irregularities for which he has not yet found the proper canonical designation. But he is certain that Luther practised deceit when he drew up his Theses. Luther "deceived" the people by the following argument: According to the teaching of the Schoolmen, in the Roman sacrament of penitence all *guilt* is remitted to the sinner when he receives absolution, and the absolved person no longer has to fear eternal punishment. But that does not mean that the gates of heaven are opened to him; for since at his death he takes with him into the hereafter a residue of sin in his sinful flesh, he must first be purged by the fires of purgatory. The *eternal* punishment has been remitted by absolution, but not the *temporal* punishment of the purgatory. Now, Luther argued, indulgences can have a bearing only on the temporal punishment, if they are not to come into conflict with what people are told in the confessional. Since absolution delivers from eternal damnation, indulgences can only shorten a person's sojourn in purgatory. God has graciously permitted that men may hasten their future purification by rendering satisfaction through the purchase of an indulgence, hence by commuting the pains of purgatory in the hereafter for a money consideration here in time; and that they may do this, not only on their own behalf, but also in behalf of such as have already departed. Relating the indulgence, then, only to the temporal penalties which the Church imposes, Luther argues that the indulgence can have any effect on those in purgatory only on the

27) *L. c.* I, 328 f.

assumption that these latter must there fulfil the measure of their unabsolved satisfactions. But this is impossible, since all ecclesiastical penalties terminate at a person's death; for Paul says: "The law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth," Rom. 7, 1. If this is true regarding the laws of God, how much more regarding those of the Pope! Only regarding the words of Christ it is written that they abide forever. If any one claims that even the dead must pay the fines imposed on them by the canon law, he might as well claim that a city razed by the enemy must render the same contributions as when it was still standing. The canonical fines imposed in the confessional consist usually in fasting, keeping vigils, performing certain labors. But in the life to come a person has no body,—that is in the grave!—how, then, can he fast, sleep, etc.? Or are we to believe that the dead in purgatory also sprinkle ashes on their head, attend a certain service, observe specified fasts, recite their canonical hours, abstain from eggs, milk, or meat, wear now a black, now a white garment? —all of which things are prescribed by the penitential canons.

It is plain that Luther had merely engaged in some independent thinking on the subject of indulgences, and when he uttered his thoughts, he wrought a deception on the people; for now these funny Germans also began to think.

3. Hopes and Fears.

The weeks after the publication of the Theses brought a number of surprises to Luther, some of them pleasant, some unpleasant. He had made no effort to spread the Theses; in a letter of March 5, 1518, he explains his reasons to Scheurl at Nuernberg:—

> As to your surprise why I did not send them to you, I answer that it was not my plan nor purpose that they should become public, but should first be discussed with a few men living here in my neighborhood, and then should either be destroyed, if condemned by the judgment of many, or published, if approved. But far beyond my expectation they have now been printed so often and carried from place to place that I am sorry of this mess, not because I do not like to see the truth become known and spread among the people,—for that was my sole object!—but because this is not an apt way for educating the people. For there are in the Theses some things that are doubtful even to me, and some things I should have stated quite differently and with greater assurance, or have omitted, if I had expected this result. However, through their being made public it has become quite plain to me what the general opinion about indulgences among all men is, although it is being kept secret for fear of the Jews.[28]

This letter explains, too, why Luther had not discussed his plan of publishing the Theses with his colleagues. He looked upon them as a matter of mere academic importance in which a few learned men might take an interest, and which they might thresh out in one of the many debates with which the theological schools were ringing in those days. The Theses were written in Latin, and the common people in Wittenberg and elsewhere in Germany did not speak Latin. They contained, moreover, much abstruse reasoning and many technical terms beyond the grasp of ordinary men.

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28) Erl. I, 166; XXIa, 91.

Even the Elector was not advised, and his reason for this Luther explains to Spalatin in a letter in the early part of November, 1517:—

I did not wish my Theses to come into the hands of our illustrious Prince or of any one at his court, before those had read them who might think themselves branded in them, lest perchance they might believe that I had published them by order or with the consent of the Prince against the Bishop of Magdeburg,[29] as I hear already that some are dreaming.[30] But now it is safe even to swear that the Theses went forth without the knowledge of Duke[31] Frederick.[32]

Besides the practical precaution which Luther exercised in withholding advance information regarding his Theses from the Elector's court, also the ecclesiastical rule not to draw the secular authorities into a discussion of spiritual affairs, no doubt prompted his silence.

And now came the surprise. What was said in the Theses mattered very little to the common people, but the one point of supreme importance which they readily understood was that at last some one had dared to speak out in public what they all had felt a long time. The sound instinct of the people had sensed in the papal forgiveness-traffic a poorly disguised fraud, a robbery under religious pretenses, an outrageous prostitution of men's holiest interests. They were astonished to hear that a monk had felt as they did about the unsavory business, yea, that the monk was a university professor, and knew how to express his thoughts well. Out of the very ranks where they had believed that all these ecclesiastical gimcracks were being fabricated, a protest had been raised, and they gave the courageous monk and pro-

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29) Albert of Mainz held also the see of Magdeburg. Rivalry existed between the House of Brandenburg and the Saxon princes. As Elector, the Archbishop could exert also a powerful political influence.

30) In many letters (XV, 2385, 2400) and as late as 1542, in his bitter invective against Duke Henry of Brunswick, Luther has defended his Saxon sovereign against this false suspicion. Comp. XVII, 1360.

31) The Elector was also Duke of Ernestine Saxony.

32) Erl. I, 121; XV, 2403; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 63 f.

fessor their honest approval by mute sentiments of their heart, by simple expressions of delight to their neighbors, and by a stiffer opposition to the hucksters of the Pope's pardon to his beloved German sheep whose shearing-time he thought had arrived. In later years Luther remembered these events and described them thus:—

> In scarcely fourteen days my Theses were spread throughout Germany; for all men were complaining about the indulgences, especially about the articles of Tetzel. And when all the bishops and doctors wrapped themselves in silence, and nobody was willing to bell the cat,—for the Dominican inquisitors had scared all men with threats of the stake, and Tetzel had even used force against some preachers who had raised their voice against his bold preaching,—then it was that Luther was lauded as a doctor, and men were pleased that at last some one had come to call a halt. I did not like that praise, for, as said, I did not know myself what the indulgences were, and the song was getting too high for my voice.[33]

Myconius says:—

> Within four weeks the Theses had almost made the rounds of entire Christendom, as if the angels themselves had carried the message.[34]

Hausrath suggests that this angels' ministry was largely performed by the enthusiastic Wittenberg students.

An interesting scene occurred in the dining-hall of the monastery at Steinlausitz, near Bitterfeld, when the tall, portly Dr. Fleck saw the Theses for the first time. The brethren had regarded him for quite a while as queer, because for some reason or other he would always refuse to read mass. At the dedication of the University of Wittenberg, in 1502, he had delivered an oration in which he had attempted a curious interpretation of the name Wittenberg: it signified, he said, "wise (= Low-German *witte*) mountain" (berg) "mountain of wisdom," or "mountain of life" (witte = Lat. *vitae*).[35] When he had glanced at the Theses, he sprang to his

33) XVII, 1360.
34) *Hist. Reform.*, ed. Cyprian, p. 23.
35) Koestlin, *M. Luther*, I, 80.

feet laughing and exclaimed, "Ha, ha, ha! He's come! He'll do it!" [36] Luther is reported to have said:—

I love Fleck; for he was a man full of assurance, and his words, too, were very comforting. After my Theses had been published, he wrote me a very beautiful letter (I would give ten gulden if I still had it). The contents were about as follows: "Reverend Doctor, just continue, and carry your undertaking through to the end. For I, too, have been highly displeased with these papal malpractises."[37]

With the persons interested in Luther's Theses, we must number the Humanists. These rationalists of the Renaissance, of course, lacked the spiritual sense to appreciate the religious and ethical elements in Luther's call for redress. The liberty from the papal bondage for which they were striving was an emancipation from the authority of the Scriptures. They were seeking to reconstruct the world along cultural and esthetical lines. The majority of them were agnostics and infidels. If the Pope respected their irreligion, they could forget that he was their spiritual lord, and could admire his artistic tastes and magnificent enterprises. Religion was not a serious affair of conscience with them, but a polite social habit. Luther's unmistakable earnestness drew from them only an amused smile. The consternation of the monks and the Curia that resulted from Luther's challenge to a debate on indulgences afforded them a humorous diversion: they relished the dilemma which Luther had created for obscurantists and reactionaries. They would applaud Luther and even offer him support; but Luther, as we heard, was wise enough to see that they were not "instruments of the Holy Spirit," that they were merely "spectators," and would "leave him in the lurch"

36) Flacius, *Catal.*, p. 836.

37) *Farrago Litterar.*, Gotha 402, p. 166 b; XV, 398.—Even Grisar admits: "The number of those who sincerely applauded the Theses, or who, at any rate, approved of the greater part of their contents, was much greater than has generally been believed." I, 330.

in any serious complication. If not counting them among his adversaries, Luther viewed them as unreliable indifferentists, even though for the time being he treated their communications with a certain courtesy.

But there were voices of a distinctly melancholy tenor that struck Luther's ear during the weeks after the publication of the Theses. His Wittenberg colleagues met him with an ominous reserve, with expressions of regret, and with scorn. Luther related reminiscences of this period twenty years later:—

> Oh, how difficult was the beginning! In the year seventeen, after All Saints, when I had first resolved to write against the errors of indulgences, we were traveling in the direction of Kemberg, when Dr. Jerome Schurf made a thrust at me, remarking: "Are you going to write against the Pope? What do you intend to do? They will not tolerate it." I said: "What if they will have to?"[38]

Reviewing the course of the Reformation, Luther said at another time:—

> All this has come to pass without my will; for many people dissuaded me from undertaking anything against the Pope, on whose beck and nod my life depended.[39]

On still another occasion he remarked:—

> When I first began to write against indulgences, nobody knew anything about them; they all pushed back the stops in their organ, and for more than three years I was quite forsaken; nobody gave me a lift, but all let me wriggle through this business with the Papists alone.[40]

Carlstadt was the first to openly side with Luther, but even he required three months to make up his mind to do so. At the very beginning he, too, told Luther that he had gone too far.[41]

Among the students at Wittenberg was a priest by the name of Oldekop. Modern Catholics use him as one

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38) XXII, 1403. 39) XXII, 1718

40) XXII, 679. Luther here speaks of any united effort which those who agreed with him in principle might have made with with; from individuals he soon received support.

41) XV, 2384.

of their oracles when they publish mean things about Luther. Oldekop had been watching Luther with suspicion from the time that the latter, in 1516, had begun to express his dissatisfaction with the indulgence traffic. He had also been busy collecting opinions about Luther's departure from the regular views of churchmen. He had found that Magister Balthasar Vack, who was living at the "Bursa Sophie," and was lecturing on Cicero and Vergil, believed that "the monk [Luther] would set up the devil for an abbot and would not make a good ending." From the Rector of the university he had picked up the remark: "The devil wants to become abbot."[42] These remarks seemed like an ominous prediction after the Theses had been published, and were sedulously canvassed among such as deprecated any innovation in the existing order of things.

The worst consternation caused by the Theses was manifested by the local officials of the Augustinian order. Luther relates:—

> When first I attacked the indulgences, and all men were opening their eyes wide, and it seemed as if I had overreached myself, my Prior and Subprior, excited by the general hue and cry, called on me and expressed great fear. They besought me not to bring their order into disrepute; for, said they, the other orders, especially the Dominicans, were already dancing with joy, because henceforth they would not be the only ones in disrepute: the Augustinians, too, would have to burn and bear shame.[42a] I answered: "Dear Fathers, if this affair was not begun in the name of God, it will soon be overthrown; but if it was begun in His name, leave it to Him." Then they were silent.[43]

When Luther had sent his theses against the scholastic theology and Aristotle[44] to his former colleagues at Erfurt, he had been denounced as a precocious theologi-

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42) Oldecop, *Chronik*, pp. 12, 15, 28.

42a) They were thinking of the great Dominican Savonarola, who suffered death at the stake in 1498 for his zeal against the corruptions of the Church; and of four members of the same order who had been burned at Bern in 1509 for gross fraud. Such scandalous events were always regarded as a dishonor to the entire order concerned. Koestlin, *l. c.*, I, 164

43) V, 1204.

44) See *Leips. Debate*, p. 213 ff.

cal upstart and a conceited person. Accordingly, Luther expected no favorable opinion on his latest effort from that quarter, and in anticipation of the bitter scorn that was later dealt out to him by the leading theologian of the University of Erfurt, he wrote on November 11th to his friend and brother Augustinian in that city:—

To the upright and sincere man of God, Johann Lang, Licentiate of Sacred Theology, of the Augustinian Eremites, my dear friend in Christ.

JESUS.

Greeting in Christ. Behold, I am sending you again some paradoxes,[45] my Reverend Father in Christ. If your theologians are offended by these, too, and say, as all men generally are saying about me, that I am rash and proud in precipitating a decision and in condemning the views of other men, I give them my answer through you by this letter. First, I am greatly pleased with their seasoned reserve and their long hesitating seriousness, if they will show it by their deeds, just as they find fault with me for levity and hasty rashness. For I am aware this fault in me is readily noted by them.

But I am surprised that they do not look upon their Aristotle with the same eyes, or if they do, how it is that they do not see that in nearly every sentence and clause Aristotle is nothing but a Momus, yea, the arch-Momus.[46] Now, if that pagan, notwithstanding his biting audacity, still pleases them and is read and cited by them, why is it that I, a Christian, meet with such dislike, especially when I give them a taste of something like their gentle Aristotle? Does a drop of that fault in me cause displeasure, of which a whole ocean in Aristotle brings delight?

Next, I wonder why they do not equally hate and condemn themselves. For what are these scholastics in their mutual relations but mere critics, Aristarchuses and mutual Momuses?[47] They are permitted and pleased to pass judgment on the opinions of everybody, but I am absolutely forbidden to do the same. Lastly, I make this complaint: If my view displeases them so very greatly and they rather give their praise to moderation, why do they not temper their own judgment about me? Why do they not with a little more reserve await the end of the affair? You see, then, what sort of men we are (namely, quite unfair), always

45) The Ninety-five Theses.

46) Momus, whom Hesiod, in his Theogony, represents as the offspring of Mother Night and Father Sleep, never achieved anything himself, but freely criticized the doings of the other gods when they were guilty of some omission or wrong action. Hence his name, which signifies a carping critic.

47) Aristarchus of Samothrake, in the first half of the second century B. C., whose relentless criticisms had become proverbial.

hastening to draw a mote out of a brother's eye, while we are delighted, even in matters that concern but the present life, with the beam in our own eyes;[48] likewise that in another we strain out as a vice a gnat that exists in us as a camel; and yet we swallow it as if it were the greatest virtue.[49]

Know, then, that I do not esteem these ghosts of Momuses any higher than night-spooks,—for that is what they are!—and I will not be influenced by what seems good to them or not. For as regards my rashness or my reserve, I know most assuredly that if I practise reserve, the truth will not become more precious through my reserve, or if I am rash, it will not become less precious because of my rashness. The only thing that I desire most urgently from you and your theologians,—not speaking at present of faults in my composition,—is, that I may learn what they think of my publication, or Theses, yea, still more that if there are faults and errors in them, they be shown me. For who does not know that nothing new can be brought forward without the charge of conceit, or at least the appearance of conceit and the suspicion of quarrelsomeness, being raised against the author? For, suppose humility itself would attempt something new, it would be exposed at once to the charge of conceit by those who think otherwise. Why were Christ and all the martyrs slain? Why have teachers suffered envy? Was it not because they were believed to be conceited and despisers of the ancient and renowned wisdom and prudence, or because they had brought forward their new ideas without the advice of those who were steeped in the ancient wisdom?

Accordingly, I do not wish them to expect from me that sort of humility (namely, hypocrisy) to believe that before publishing anything I must first apply to them for their counsel and decision. What I do I desire to be done, not by the effort or counsel of a man, but of God. For if the work is of God, who will forbid it? If it is not of God, who will advance it? Not my will, nor theirs, nor ours, but Thy will be done, holy Father, who art in heaven. Amen.

Finally, remember that you must urgently pray for me, as I pray for you, that our Lord Jesus may aid us and bear our trials with us, which are unknown unto all men except ourselves. Farewell. From our monastery at Wittenberg, 1517, on the Day of St. Martin the Bishop.

Brother Martin Eleutherius (the Freeman), yea, rather a servant and a very sorry prisoner. Augustinian at Wittenberg.[50]

The pessimism of good men in those days regarding Luther's attempt at a reform was aptly expressed by Dr. Albert Krantz, who died at Hamburg (December 7th),

48) Matt. 7, 4. 49) Matt. 23, 24.
50) *Erl Brfw.* I, 124; XV, 394; excerpts in Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 64.

five weeks after the news from Wittenberg had reached him. He received them with the remark:—

> You speak truly, good brother, but you will accomplish nothing. Go back to your cell and say, God have mercy on me![51]

It is not surprising, then, that in the days when Luther's name was proclaimed throughout Europe and men were beginning to look up to him with fond expectations, Luther himself felt "like a lonely flower on the heath."[52] Two years later he published his first (brief) Exposition of Galatians, which he dedicated[53] to his colleagues, Dr. Lupinus von Radheim and Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt. In the Preface he said with a touch of irony:—

> Ensnared in a queer folly and exceedingly grievous error, I have formed my opinions of sins and errors according to the norm of the divine commandments and of the Gospel of Christ. My friends, however, being excellent, wise men, have no other norm for any kind of works than the authority of the Pope and the prerogatives of the Roman Church. That is the reason why our opinions differ so much, and why I have drawn upon myself such violent attacks from the most Christian and most religious teachers of Sacred Theology. What I had always feared, *viz.*, that one would pass this, the other that judgment upon me, has come to pass. Some have regarded me as a wicked, others as a caustic, others again as a vainglorious person, and still others in a different way. That is the common lot of all who are building along the highway, as the proverb runs, and who are publishing writings. I find that I have about as many masters as I have readers, and they serve me without charge. Under their happy instruction and tutelage I have had to learn (lest I become obstinate and a heretic) that no one can commit a more grievous error than to question the opinions of men or to assail them in the zeal of debate. That, in their opinion, is a puerile performance; meanwhile they regard it as a trifling matter if a person denies Christ and faith in Christ.[54]

With this ebb and flow of human opinions surging about him, Luther was nevertheless ushered into such a cheerful state of mind that he began in the early part of

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51) Chytraeus, *Chron. Saxon.* VII, 196. Koestlin, *l. c.*, I, 164.
52) Hausrath, *l. c.*, I, 178.
53) Sept. 3, 1519.
54) VIII, 1352.

November, as we saw in the letter to Lang, to sign himself in letters to intimate friends "Martin Luther Eleutherius," which we have rendered "the Freeman," for that is an oft-recurring view which Luther takes of himself, *viz.*, that he is one of Christ's freedmen; the word of the Lord has made him free.[55] He enjoys the liberty of those redeemed by Christ, and with it, peace of heart and rest of conscience in the midst of the conflict in which he is becoming merged. But his freedom obligates him nevertheless to service; hence he adds to his new title the words: "Yea, rather a servant, and very much a prisoner."

4. The Archbishop's Plight.

To Archbishop Albert, Luther's letter and Theses proved extremely annoying. Spite of his prominent position in the Church, he was not, as we remarked, a religious person. Spiritual reflections and scruples of conscience he put far from him. A modernist in his age, he was imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance, not so much of its scientific pursuits as of its ideals of living and its cultivation of art. Magnificent architecture was one of his passions. He had become numbered with the Humanists; Ulrich von Hutten had been one of his intimates at a time; Erasmus counted him among his admirers. A generous patron of poets and *litterateurs*, his ambition had been to make his university at Mainz

55) It is hardly in keeping with the sentiments dominant in Luther at this or at any other time to interpret Eleutherius to mean "Liberator," as Hausrath does. That he actually was a liberator there can be no question; the point to be decided here is: what did Luther himself mean when he first applied this title to himself? Altogether biased is the interpretation of Grisar (I, 314), who translates Eleutherius by "the Free-spirited," and senses a bold taunt in this term. "Freebooter" might have served Grisar's purpose still better.

the center of the new learning, and he had sided with Reuchlin against the latter's detractors. Living only for refinement, culture, luxury, he resented monks' quarrels as an invasion of his serene ease. Controversial literature he regarded as a profanation of the art of printing, and on May 17th had issued an inquisitorial edict against such literature.

Luther's letter was forwarded to him at Aschaffenburg, his favorite residence, which he sought to beautify by costly buildings. It contained perhaps the first serious theological question with which he had been confronted. The solemn appeal with which it reverberated was the rudest jolt which his esthetic nature had yet received. The whole man rebelled against it. Besides, it arrived at a most inconvenient time: the archiepiscopal fiscus was in a critical condition; the Jewish moneylenders who had Albert in their clutches to the end of his life were pestering him; from Rome had come a brutal reminder that the indulgence enterprise must be made to yield larger returns, and now this mad monk of Wittenberg would likely break up the whole business. The situation was intolerable.

What did Albert do? With habitual aversion he pushed the disgusting affair aside; he always did that with bothersome and perplexing matters. Even when he was personally offended, he would in lordly fashion ignore the offense, so as not to permit himself to become ruffled. If he met with serious opposition and was afraid that he might not be able to overcome it, he would yield, in order to have rest. He studiously avoided being drawn into a difficulty. And here was a very portentous one looming up: he would bring the ire of the whole pack of Augustinian friars down upon himself if he decided against Luther, or have the Dominicans barking around

him if he sided with Luther. Therefore he chose the customary way of a self-indulgent person—he did nothing. He neither furnished Luther the desired enlightenment, nor did he answer his letter.

But the Archbishop's chancellery took a more serious view of the matter. Luther's letter with the Theses had been received by the administrator of the archiepiscopal see at Halle, Count von Stolberg-Wernigerode. He it was that forwarded the letter with some tracts that showed clearly Luther's position to his master at Aschaffenburg, to give the Archbishop a full insight into the affair. These documents the Archbishop, on December 1st, handed over to his theological faculty at Mainz and bade them prepare a theological opinion on them. The opinion was rendered December 13th; it held that Luther's Theses "limit and restrict the power of the Pope and of the Apostolic See, in which they contradict the general opinions of many blessed and venerable doctors." [56] Is it not a curious coincidence that every one on the Roman side who studied Luther's Theses was struck chiefly, not with their strictures upon the indulgence traffic, but with the attack on the Pope's power that was implied in them? Just that had been an object utterly foreign to Luther's mind. In the mean time, however, the Archbishop's immediate counselors had advised that an "inhibitory process" be instituted against Luther. The evidence that this was actually done is not conclusive; it is likely that this, too, seemed to the Archbishop too much trouble. He merely expressed a wish that Tetzel might proceed more discreetly, and that his subcommissaries might revise their addresses to the people at the sale of indulgences, "in order that this holy business may not be treated with levity, and despised"; but,

56) Smith, *l. c.*, I, 66.

on the other hand, he enlarged Tetzel's authority, and declared that he was little concerned about the "obstinate attempt of the presumptuous monk." The Humanists with whom he had surrounded himself may have confirmed him in these easy-going measures.

However, to render his position quite safe over against Rome, and to offset the reprimand which Rome through the Bishop of Reval had administered to him on account of the poor financial showing of the indulgence enterprise, the Archbishop resolved that the Roman Curia itself might be made to wrestle with the unruly monk at Wittenberg. Was not the Pope more deeply interested in the financial side of the undertaking than himself? Accordingly, he passed the whole affair on to his employers at Rome by making official report to the Curia concerning Luther's outbreak. It was through Archbishop Albert that Rome was first summoned to action against Luther.

That was the answer the anguished heart of Luther received from his trusted superior. The very person whose activities he asked to have checked was confirmed in his doings and even made Luther's judge; for Tetzel was also an inquisitor. "For the matter which stirred Luther to the depth of his soul the Archbishop had not the least appreciation. Thus this powerful prince of the Church dismissed with a light heart a trouble which he more easily than any one else might have composed at the time. In later years he made several attempts to act as mediator, but never succeeded in exerting any determining influence on the trend of affairs in the Church."[57] He missed completely the one distinct opportunity that had come to him to become a really great man.

57) Kolde in PRE³ I, 306.

5. Repairing the Hole in the Drum.

Together with the Provincial of his order, Staupitz, Luther as Rural Vicar, in 1516, had held a visitation at the Augustinian monastery at Grimma. Here he had received the first detailed information about the shocking activities of Tetzel. Tetzel's reckless boasting, in particular, roused Luther's indignation, and he exclaimed: "Now, God willing, I shall put a hole in his drum." [58] It was not long after the Theses had been posted at Wittenberg that Tetzel became aware that something was wrong with his advertising apparatus: the ordinary mountebank methods of his hucksters failed to attract the masses. The commissioners were trading to a decidedly bearish market. The Archbishop's chancellery advised that a new edition of indulgence-letters, beautifully embellished, be put on sale to quicken the sluggish trading. But the people refused to buy even these prettier gewgaws.

Tetzel readily connected the slump with Luther's challenge to a debate, and now he had been reminded by sealed orders of Archbishop Albert that he was not only a seller of indulgences, but also empowered to deal with heretics. Accordingly, he ordered a fire to be kindled several times during the week on the market-place at Jueterbogk in front of the church where the indulgences were sold, and delivered fierce maledictions against the authors of "the new tidings" from Wittenberg, threatening that he would burn them by order of the Most Holy Father at Rome.[59] That was the answer which the Archbishop indirectly delivered to Luther—a fine answer

58) XVIII, *Einl.*, p. 8. 59) Myconius, *l. c.*, p. 21; XV, 383.

to a burdened conscience! Such ruthless measures, Hausrath thinks, could not fail, in the long run, to drive the humble friar into an opposition which he had never intended at the beginning.[60]

Tetzel also undertook to disprove the charges which Luther had raised against him. He went to Halle and on December 12th and 14th obtained a testimony from the City Council stating that they had not heard Tetzel say that even rape committed upon the Virgin could be remitted by an indulgence. This does not prove, of course, that a remark of this kind had not been made either by Tetzel or his subcommissaries at Halle or elsewhere; it only proves that the members of the City Council had no personal knowledge of it. Hausrath, to show that Luther certainly did not invent this tale, points to the fact that both Prierias at Rome and Wimpina at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder a few months later touched upon this remark in their writings against Luther, and maintained that it was perfectly Scriptural,[61] because Jesus Himself had said that sins against the Son can be forgiven; hence, sins against His mother can likewise be forgiven. Prierias goes so far as to say: Even if Tetzel should have made that remark, he would only deserve praise for his oratorical fervor which had added a strong, but perfectly legitimate spice to the precious food which he was offering the people.— Another charge of Luther Tetzel did not deny: he had told the people:

> Sobald das Geld im Kasten klingt,
> Die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt.

But Tetzel's champion Wimpina delights us with an interpretation of this rhyme of which Luther had not

60) *L. c.*, I, 183.

61) Kapp, in his *Schauplatz*, p. 70, notes a special treatise of Hugo Wismeider in which Luther is defended against the charge of having lied in making the above assertion against Tetzel. XV, 391.

thought. Tetzel's idea, Wimpina says, had not been to claim that the dropping of money into the chest *effected* the release of souls from purgatory, but he merely wished to institute a striking comparison between the rapidity with which a falling body drops in obedience to the law of gravity and the rapidity with which an absolved soul soars heavenward. With heroic fervor Wimpina declaims: "A person who does not believe that a purified soul can fly upward even faster than a coin thrown into a chest can reach the bottom knows nothing and errs. Inasmuch as the upward flight of souls to heaven is incomparably more rapid than the downward movement of a falling body, a person holding a contrary view is convicted of error even by the laws of physics." [62] *Risum teneatis, amici!*

Tetzel sought to rehabilitate himself in a still more impressive manner. At his visit in Halle it had been pointed out to him that Luther's Theses were the product of a thinking mind, and made men think. Luther's evident learning gave them force. Tetzel, therefore, resolved to achieve the same academic honors which Luther held, and to that end made application to the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. This school, entirely under the control of Elector Joachim of Brandenburg and his brother Albert, the Archbishop of Mainz, had been founded in 1505 in direct opposition to the new Saxon University at Wittenberg founded by Elector Frederic. Many are the complaints which Luther makes to the Saxon Elector about the insidious attempts of the Brandenburgers to injure and wreck the University of Wittenberg. The guiding spirit of this hostility at Frankfurt was the first Rector of the Univer-

62) Hausrath, *l. c.*, I, 182.

sity, the aforementioned Conrad Wimpina.[63] He had been professor at the University of Leipzig, when, in 1502, Elector Frederic was looking for teachers for his new university. The Elector had consulted Wimpina and another Leipzig professor, Pollich von Mellerstadt, and ultimately decided to call the latter to be the head of the new school. Wimpina now conceived a grudge against the Elector and his school. He already bore Pollich a grudge, with whom he had become engaged in a public controversy. Wimpina had unjustly attacked a young Humanist for holding views derogatory to Sacred Theology, and Pollich had taken the Humanist's side. The literary controversy that broke out while the two professors were still at Leipzig was conducted with great acrimony. When Pollich was transferred to Wittenberg, he continued to reply to Wimpina, who now demanded that the strife be settled, and even appealed to the University of Paris and to the Apostolic See for a decision. At this point the Provincial of the Augustinian order, Staupitz, interfered, commanding Pollich to reply to Wimpina once more, "without using opprobrious terms and insults." After that both parties were to hold their peace. But this peremptory order did not remove their animosity and rivalry. When Wimpina, on January 5, 1503, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Leipzig from the Cardinal Legate Peraudi, the Wittenberg faculty, taking this as a challenge, replied three weeks later (January 27th) by conferring the same honor on Pollich.[64]

63) His family name was Koch. He had been born in 1465 at Buchheim in Baden, whither his family had come from Wimpfen-on-the-Neckar. From this latter town the name Wimpina has been derived.

64) At the time of which we are writing, Wimpina had become engaged in a controversy with the pastor of Zwickau, Sylvius Egranus, who had attacked the myth that St. Anna, the mother of the Virgin, had had three husbands, Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome (sic!), and had had from each a daughter that was named Mary. In his treatise *De Divae Annae Trinubio ei Trium Filiarum eius Assurtione*, libri. III. Wimpina maintains the old legend, although he drops Salome as one of the three husbands. XXIa, 83. *Erl. Brfw.* I, 134; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 66.

The course of the Reformation has been determined in no small degree by weird jealousies and fierce rivalries. Besides the political struggle for ascendancy of the Brandenburg over the Saxon princes and the personal animosity of leading men at their universities, we have to note a third element which just at this time made for envy and strife. Through Luther the Order of Augustinians had become quite prominent at the University of Wittenberg. Tetzel belonged to the Dominican fraternity, and this order had been entrusted with "the sacred business" of the indulgences. The factional spirit existing between the various orders of monks was supposed to have created among the Augustinians a bias against indulgences, because they did not like the Dominicans, who were the official medium for carrying on this business. As late as 1519 Emser of Leipzig named jealousy as the motive behind Luther's attack on indulgences: had the Pope, he said, assigned the business to the Augustinians instead of to the Dominicans, Luther would consider the traffic fair and proper. It was an unfounded assertion: the Augustinians as an organization had not taken a position against the indulgence sale; not a few of the members of the order defended and advocated it. Emser's view merely shows his inability to grasp the fundamental principle underlying Luther's action. In a controversy it is always the easier and the popular method to explain your opponent's position by imputing to him a motive that requires no thinking, but only passion.

There is a truer cause for the strife between Dominicans and Augustinians: at Wittenberg the ruling scholastic theology had been openly attacked,[65] especially the master of that science, Thomas Aquinas, the idol of the

65) See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 11 ff.

Dominicans, who were all Thomists. The University of Frankfurt had no special interest in the Dominican order, but its theologians were scholastics. They felt induced to espouse Tetzel's cause, not so much because of Tetzel as because of Tetzel's theological oracle. Thus Tetzel's academic venture at this university in the closing weeks of 1517 for his own rehabilitation was turned into a grotesque demonstration in favor of St. Thomas.

Tetzel's learning was rudimentary. He was not able to meet a learned man in debate. The theses which were to secure for him the degree of Bachelor of Theology, or Licentiate, were drawn up for him by Wimpina.[66] They are 106 in number[67] and follow Luther's Theses point for point, merely asserting the opposite of what Luther had stated. By an appeal to the Power of the Keys vested in the Pope, and the Treasury of the Saints, that is, the supererogatory works from which the Church may transfer to those who are deficient in good works, the sale of indulgences is defended: not only are they permissible, but salutary and necessary; for death does not release a person from his unfulfilled obligations to the Church, and indulgences are the speediest means for meeting them. The Pope is really a benefactor of mankind by inviting men to share the blessing which the building of St. Peter's must bring: he might have constructed the building at his own expense and secured the blessing for himself alone. He is also generous, because the present tariff of indulgences is lower than that fixed by his predecessors. According to Thesis 80 it is, therefore, "a wicked error to say," as Luther had said, "that the Pope is building St. Peter's Cathedral

66) Wimpina afterwards embodied them in an edition of his works. XVIII, *Enl.*, p. 12. Luther writes to Lang, March 21, 1518: "Dr. Wimpina is by all regarded as the author of these theses. I am certain that he is." XV, 2381.

67) XVIII, 82-91.

with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep." Not he, as Luther had claimed, is "insane, foolish, erring and mad" who asserts that rape committed upon the Virgin can be forgiven by purchasing an indulgence, but who denies this. The question why the Pope, if he has power over purgatory, does not release all its inmates by one universal act of grace is declared just as absurd as the question why God suffered His Son to be crucified on account of the eating of an apple, when according to the civil law the death penalty cannot be inflicted for injuries amounting to less than five *solidi*, etc., etc.

These theses were debated near the end of December.[68] About four weeks later, on the eve of St. Agnes' Day (January 21st), three hundred Dominican monks met in convention at Frankfurt, in order to do honor the next day to their brother Tetzel at his inauguration as Doctor of Divinity. For this occasion another set of theses, fifty in number,[69] had been drawn up—Loescher claims, again by Wimpina; Hausrath, by Tetzel himself.[70] The subject was the sovereign power of the Pope. Why this theme? Luther had not attacked it. Yes, but he had not been careful enough in safeguarding it. Besides, this theme was the great theme of Thomas Aquinas, the protagonist among medieval theologians for papal absolutism. Furthermore, this theme served to show up the whole Augustinian order as an enemy of the greatest teacher of the Church and of the Pope. These three hundred holy friars had come to shout: Great is St. Thomas of the Dominicans! Great

68) The arguments in XVIII, 12, *viz.*, that January 21, 1518, was the date of this debate, do not appear conclusive; for the citation from Wolfgang Jobst in that place evidently refers to the conferring of the doctor's degree on Tetzel.

69) XVIII, 94-101.

70) Hausrath argues that the bad Latin of these theses, which is worse than that of the first series, proves that Tetzel is the author. Such plain Germanisms occur in this second series as this: quae fidei sunt papa *solus habet determinare*.

is our Holy Father Pope! Death to every one who doubts this! It was a fanatical mob of obscurantists that had come to shout down Luther. Master Tetzel smiled the happiest smile of his life as he looked over this frenzied mass of shavelings, and it was likely on this occasion that he bestowed this blessing on Luther: "I shall have that heretic cast into the fire within three weeks, and see him go to heaven in a bathing-hood."[71] The audacity of this crowned ignoramus seems to have known no limits on this occasion. For in his theses he had inserted two threatening references to princes who are found protecting heretics: they are to be regarded and treated as heretics themselves. The Brandenburger's compliment to the Elector!

The demonstration did not pass off without a jarring note of discord. While Tetzel was holding forth in stentorian tones and with unusual enthusiasm on the plenitude of the Pope's power, and was almost proclaiming the dogma of papal infallibility 350 years ahead of time, the learned doctors of the university sat uneasily in their seats and were absorbed in a profound contemplation of the tips of their shoes. It was strong language which they were made to hear that day, and they had not come to stand sponsor to such declarations. But the Dominican mob cowed them into craven silence, and they approved the speaker—with a liberal mental reservation. Suddenly, a young Pomeranian, Johann Knipstro, jumped to his feet and challenged Tetzel's statements. In the exchange of arguments that followed the young man held his ground so well against Tetzel and Tetzel's *Praeses* that in the judgment of intelligent and unbiased men the victory belonged to him. But he had wasted his breath on a mob, and mob

71) XXII, 1718.

justice was administered to him when he was arrested and sent to a convent at Priegnitz.[72]

And the drum remained unmended.

6. Marking Time.

In hardly more than a month Tetzel had achieved honors for which others had to struggle many years in severe mental labor. His prodigious success was a travesty on learning and academic efficiency. In blissful conceit, however, this *doctor ex machina* wore the insignia of his new dignity with the superb consciousness of a veteran professor, like the spectacled monkey at a circus impersonating a sage. The demonstration in his honor, too, was a burlesque on holy things. Nevertheless, to Luther it was a serious affair. Returning to their convents, these three hundred monks traversed the whole of Germany, and everywhere their voices were raised in fierce denunciation of the new Hussite that had arisen in Wittenberg. Wails of grief and terrible execrations pronounced upon Luther and those who dared to side with him were heard from hundreds of pulpits. In a letter to Spalatin on February 15, 1518, Luther refers to the resentment which he had stirred up by his Theses. Answering a question of Spalatin, he says:—

> You ask me how much indulgences are worth. The matter is still in doubt, and my Theses are tossed about among waves of abuse. Two things, however, I may say, the first to you alone and my friends, until the matter is made public: I believe that indulgences nowadays are nothing but a snare of souls and absolutely useless except to those who sleep and snore in the way of Christ. Although our friend Carlstadt does not share this

72) Loescher, *Ref.-Akt.* II, 8 f.—XVIII, *Einl.*, p. 13; XV, 397. This Knipstro afterwards became General Superintendent of Western Pomerania and professor of theology at the University of Greifswald.

opinion, still I am certain that he considers them worthless. For the sake of exposing this fraud, for the love of truth, I entered this dangerous labyrinth of disputation, and aroused against me six hundred Minotaurs,[73] yea, even Rhadamanthotaurs and Aeacotaurs.[74]

To Lang at Erfurt he writes, March 21st:—

The prating indulgence-preachers are thundering against me from their pulpits in wonderful style; they are hardly able anymore to find horrible names enough which they may apply to me; they add threats and promise the people, one that within fourteen days, the other that within a month, I am surely to be burned. They are also publishing antitheses, so that I fear some day they will split with the volume and greatness of their rage.[75]

Even Wittenberg was invaded by the Dominican propaganda. On March 18th a bundle containing the Tetzel-Wimpina theses against Luther arrived from Halle and was delivered to a Wittenberg bookseller.

When the students learned what literature was to be disseminated in their town, they took possession of the entire stock, called a meeting of the student-body, and resolved to burn the theses, which was done after a mock process at law by which the theses were legally pronounced dead and an order for their burial was issued. Luther did not learn of this episode until all was over. The next day, at the close of his Friday Lenten sermon, he expressed his disapproval. The sermon had treated of the redeeming love of Christ; applying this thought to the occurrence of the preceding day, Luther admonished his hearers to love the brethren as Christ loved us, though He might justly have been angry with us.

To Lang he wrote on March 21st:—

In order that you may be advised in advance, if in some way the rumor should perhaps reach you of the burning of Tetzel's

73) The fabulous bull of Minos which was slain by Theseus, aided by the artifice of Ariadne, in the labyrinth of Crete. The other two terms are grotesque formations of Luther. Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus were the three judges of the infernal regions. "Luther means that he had excited all the monsters of hell against himself." (Smith.)

74) *Erl Brfw.* I, 154; XV, 2383 f.; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I. 70 f.

75) *XV*, 2379 F.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 169; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I. 44.

Theses, and lest any one, as usually happens, should add anything to the actual facts in the case, here is the story. When our students, who are remarkably disgusted with these sophistical and antiquated studies, and perhaps also desired to please me, had learned that a person sent by Tetzel, the author of the Theses, had arrived from Halle, they at once approached him and spoke threateningly to him for having dared to bring such stuff hither. Some bought a few copies; others, however, seized the rest, about 800 copies in all. Having given due notice of the burning and burying of Tetzel's Theses, they summoned all who wished to be present at the act to come to the market-place at two o'clock. They burned the theses without the knowledge of the Elector, the town council, the rector of the university, in fact, of all of us. Certainly I and everybody else were displeased with the grave injury done to the man by our students. I am without guilt, but I fear that the whole affair will be charged against me. A great story is made out of this everywhere, but still greater is their indignation, and that, not without justice. What will come of it I do not know, except that my danger grows worse through the event.[76]

One copy only had been snatched from the burning, and this Luther encloses in the foregoing letter. Luther had guessed correctly that the affair would make trouble for him. For on May 9th he finds it necessary to write his former teacher Trutfetter at Erfurt, who was beginning to be sorely displeased with Luther:—

I am surprised that you can believe I authorized the burning of Tetzel's theses. Do you think that I have altogether lost my sound reason, so that either as a monk or a theologian I should inflict a grievous injury on a person in such an exalted position, when this is not at all my business? But what shall I do since everybody believes anything concerning me, no matter from whom it comes? Surely, I cannot restrain or bind everybody's tongue.[77]

There is a note of impatience in this letter, as if the writer is chafing under a restraint. The events narrated so far have carried us fully five months beyond the date of the publication of the Theses. During all that time Luther, in spite of frequent and irritating provocations, kept silent; partly, because he was waiting for

76) XV, 2380; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 170; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 75.
77) XV, 412; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 189.

a proper answer to his challenge and had quietly collected material for the debate which he expected; partly because he was under promise to the Bishop Scultetus to act on his reserve. But when his enemies used every possible means to create public sentiment against him, and even Eck, whom he had regarded as his friend, had begun treacherously to attack him in his *Obelisks*, Luther thought that he must speak his mind publicly. What worried him chiefly was that his Theses were treated as positive assertions. Since no opportunity was given him to explain them in public, he was casting about for the best plan to inform men regarding his real views of indulgences. To Scheurl he wrote March 5th:—

I have been compelled to prepare proofs for my Theses which, however, I am not permitted as yet to publish, because the reverend and gracious lord Bishop of Brandenburg, whose judgment on this matter I asked, has been greatly occupied and is delaying me a long time. Yea, if the Lord gives me leisure, I wish to publish a tract in German on the efficacy of indulgences, in order to suppress those Theses, which are very vague. I have no doubt, indeed, but what the people are being deceived, not by the indulgences, but by the use they make of them. I shall send it as soon as it is ready.[78]

Three weeks before this Luther had confided the same plan to Spalatin, but asked him to keep it secret until he should be ready to publish it. Answering another question of Spalatin, he said:—

The second point which, without doubt, even my adversaries and the entire Church are forced to admit is this: Giving alms and helping our fellow-men is incomparably better than buying indulgences. Therefore, take heed to buy no indulgences as long as you find paupers and needy neighbors to whom you may give what you would be willing to give for indulgences. If you do otherwise, it will not be my fault; see you to it. I do not hesitate to say that he merits God's anger who forsakes his neighbor and buys indulgences. But, God willing, you will see more of this when I publish the proofs for my Theses. For I am compelled to do this by those men, more ignorant than ignorance itself, who in all their sermons proclaim me a heretic, yea, are so

78) XXIa, 91; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 166; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 44.

furious that they even try to make the University of Wittenberg infamous and heretical on account of me. I labor much more to restrain myself from despising them, and thus sinning against Christ, than to triumph over them. For they are so void of training in the humanities and divinities that it would be a very disgraceful affair to engage in a controversy with them. However, their very ignorance begets in them an incredible audacity and gives them a forehead harder than brass. But they are courageous only by the shadows of their specters and night-spooks with which they are so crammed and—to use a big word after their fashion—so inessentiated, that one could utterly despair of their improvement. One thing only that grieves me very much I want you to know, namely, that these very brawlers, and many others with them, have been taught a new trick: they are gossiping everywhere that all I do is at the best of our illustrious Prince, as though I were prompted by him to hate the Archbishop of Magdeburg. Advise me what to do in this matter, and whether the Prince ought to be informed. I very much regret that the Prince is coming to be suspected on my account, and the thought of being the cause of strife between such great princes fills me with horror and fear.

I could suffer myself to be offered by the Prince for any debate and trial, provided I have a safe-conduct, in order that only the innocent Prince may not become involved in the hatred against me. See what a monstrous set of men and a people of darkness, hating the light, they are! They hunted Johann Reuchlin through three provinces and brought him back against his will. I am presenting my invitation at their door and begging them, but me they spurn and whisper in corners because they see that they cannot defend themselves. However, farewell and forgive my long-winded and excessive talking; for I have been talking to a friend.—From our monastery, February 15, 1518.[79]

Before carrying out his resolution to come out with a new statement of his views of indulgences, Luther, we heard, had felt that he must come to an understanding with Bishop Scultetus, so as not to become chargeable with insubordination to his superior and with a breach of the monkish rule of implicit obedience. Two days before he wrote to Spalatin he had already sent the following humble letter to Scultetus:—

To the Right Reverend Father and Master in Christ, Master Jerome, Bishop of the Church of Brandenburg, his very kind and exceptionally gracious master, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian at Wittenberg, wishes grace.

79) XV, 2384 f; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 155 f; excerpts in Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 71.

Beloved Bishop! Since new and unheard-of dogmas about papal indulgences had recently been begun to be preached throughout our regions, so that everywhere very many people, both learned and unlearned, were surprised and stirred up, I was asked by many persons, both acquaintances and such as were personally unknown to me, in many letters and conversations, what I thought of the novelty (not to say license) of these preachings. For a while I kept my reserve, but finally they pressed upon me with sharp disputations, so that the reverence due the Pope was endangered.

But what was I to do? It was not my business to determine anything in this matter, and I shrank from contradicting those men whom I desired very greatly to be regarded as having preached nothing but the truth. Their opponents, however, persisted in proving their false and worthless teachings with such clear arguments that they—I confess the truth!—completely shut me in and captured me.

In order, therefore, to satisfy both sides, the best plan seemed to me neither to approve nor disapprove, but meanwhile to hold a debate about so important an issue, until the holy Church should determine what opinion is to be held. Accordingly, I posted topics for a debate, to which I invited and asked publicly everybody, privately, however, such as I knew to be the most learned, that they should reveal their opinion to me in writing. For it seemed to me that in these matters I had against me neither the Scriptures, nor the doctors of the Church, nor even the Canon Law, except a few of its commentators, and these, speaking outside of the text; also a few scholastic doctors, who expressed similar opinions, but likewise without proving them.

Of all things this, indeed, seems to me by far the most absurd, *viz.*, that anything should be preached and listened to in the Church of God for which we cannot render a reason when heretics demand it, and that we then abandon Christ and His Church to their ridicule and mockery.

Furthermore, it is a fact that we are not obliged to believe the scholastics and expounders of Canon Law when they merely opine opinions, and as the common saying runs: It is a disgrace for a jurist to speak without a text. But a much greater disgrace it is for a theologian to speak without a text, I mean, not from Aristotle (for of him they are talking more than enough, yea, far too much), but from our book, that is, the Holy Scriptures, from the canons of the Church, from the fathers.

Accordingly, it seemed to me that this was a matter for my profession and office to hold a disputation on the most doubtful points, which, however, are at the same time the most dangerous to assert, if they are false. For up to the present time schoolmen have been free to debate even the most sacred and revered matters, and for these many centuries no Christian has raised a question about these debates.

But tell me, to whom is it not palpable how meek and submissive the scruples and reverence of those are who hold the

authority of the Church, or of the Supreme Pontiff, is not to be debated, but to be accepted with silence and giving of thanks? Why do they not keep silent and give thanks, and omit their frivolous disputations concerning the power and wisdom and goodness of Him who gave that authority to the Church? Yea, what is so mysterious, both in the highest Majesty and the most sacred humanity [of Christ] that they have not sullied with what are almost mere capers, to such an extent that by their persistence to enact such follies they have well-nigh extinguished in the hearts of all both affection and reverence for God? But about this another time.

Accordingly, when I had called all into the arena and no one came, and when at length I perceived that my theses were being spread farther than I had wished, and were everywhere accepted as assertions, not as points to be debated, I was forced against my expectation and purpose to bring my infant mind and ignorance among the people, and to publish explanations and proofs for them, believing that I would do better to incur the dishonor of my inexperience than to allow those to be in error who might believe all these points to be assertions. There are among them points regarding which I am in doubt; regarding some I profess my ignorance; some I even deny; none, however, I assert stubbornly, while I submit all to the holy Church and her judgment.

Now, since you, kindest superior, by the grace of Christ have been appointed bishop-in-ordinary, as they call him, for this place,[80] and since you have not only a wonderful love for good and learned men, a fact which many persons loudly proclaim on the strength of many instances, but also are venerated and cherished for your singular humaneness and meekness almost to the point of endangering the dignity of the Pope (far be it from me to flatter you! I am not praising you, but the gifts of Christ in you), therefore it was most proper, since it pertains to you to exercise oversight over the school at this place and to pass judgment on it, that I should, before all, present to you and lay at your feet first what the thing is on which I am at work.

Deign, therefore, most clement superior, to receive these foolish trifles of mine, and that all may know that I assert nothing rashly, I not only permit, but even implore your Fatherly Reverence to take your pen and strike out whatever you wish, or to kindle a fire and burn the whole; it is of no consequence to me. I know that Christ does not need me, and will publish good tidings to His Church without me. If this work is not His, by all means I do not want it to be mine either, but let it be nothing and nobody's; also because according to Gregory of Nazianz it is not safe even to speak the truth in the Church, especially to grievous sinners.

Accordingly, I am not forgetting myself: I protest with these words that I am engaged in a debate, and do not decide anything.

80) The district of Electoral Saxony lying on the other side of the Elbe, hence also Wittenberg was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Brandenburg.

I am debating, I say, not asserting; moreover, I am debating with fear. Not that I fear the bulls and threats of those who, having never been touched by any fear, would have us believe as Gospel whatever they have dreamed; for I confess that both the audacity and the lack of knowledge of these people have forced me not to yield to my own fear. If these matters were not so great, nobody would have known of me except my little nook. I have had to strive for nothing else than to give no one an occasion for error. Glory be to Him alone to whom it belongs, who is blessed forever. Amen. May He preserve you for us, kindest superior, and direct you long and for our good! Farewell; yea, I pray that you will also bid me farewell.—From our monastery at Wittenberg.[81]

However, after this letter had been dispatched, and before Luther received the Bishop's reply, a sermon was published by Luther upon the urgent request of his friends. This sermon had been written about the time of the publication of the Theses. Some think it was preached that very day in the chapel of the Augustinian convent. It is the sermon on Indulgence and Grace, in popular, easy German. While the Theses were written for the learned doctors, this sermon was to acquaint the common people with the essential features of Luther's objections to indulgences. Luther was probably thinking of his parishioners, whom as confessor he had to advise, when he prepared the sermon. By distinguishing between *God's* dealings with the sinner and mere *ecclesiastical* ordinances, by pointing out what was *doubtful* and what *plain error* in the selling of indulgences, and by urging the people, if they wished to put their conscience at rest, to follow God's economy of grace through repentance, faith in the forgiveness, and love, Luther led the masses to an understanding of the great spiritual issues pending in his controversy with the commissioners of indulgence.[82]

Luther's activities were being closely watched and everything that came from his pen was rapidly circu-

81) XV, 405; excerpts in Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 88 f; *Erl. Brfw.* I. On the date of this letter the finding of Knaake in Weim. Ed. I. 522 f., followed by the St. Louis Ed., has been accepted.

82) See the entire sermon in Appendix.

lated. The Bishop of Brandenburg, too, soon was advised of the existence of this sermon. Together with the letter which he had just received from Luther this publication seemed to indicate that Luther was about to cast off the Bishop's restraint. The Bishop had delayed his answer for several weeks; now he made haste to get into communication with Luther, and that, in a manner highly complimentary to Luther. Instead of a written answer he sent to him a great dignitary of his diocese. Overwhelmed by this great condescension, Luther, towards the end of March or beginning of April, 1518, wrote to Spalatin:—

Yesterday the abbot of Lehnin[83] was with me in the name and as the representative of the reverend Bishop of Brandenburg, from whom he brought me a letter and related by order of the said lord, our bishop, that he wished and requested me somewhat to postpone the publication of my *Probationes* and other studies, if I had any; moreover, that he would have very much liked it if I had not published my sermon on indulgences, and lastly, he asked that it be not published nor sold any further.

Now I am confused with shame that such a great bishop should in such a humble manner send such a great abbot to me, and for this sole reason I said: "I acquiesce; I shall obey rather than perform miracles, even if I were able"; and other things that might excuse my zeal. For although he held that no error was contained in those publications, but that everything was orthodox, and although he himself condemned those indiscreet utterances (as they are called) regarding indulgences, still, to avoid giving offense, he held that I should keep silent and delay a little while.[84]

To Link at Nuernberg he wrote, July 10th:—

Recently I delivered a sermon before the people on the efficacy of excommunication[85] in which incidentally I taxed the tyranny and ignorance of that most sordid rabble of officials, commissaries, and vicars. All are expressing surprise, stating that they had never heard such things before. Now, whatever evil may be impending for me, we are expecting that a new fire is being kindled. But that is the way of the word of truth, the sign that is spoken against. I wanted to have a public debate on the matter, but rumor anticipated it and stirred up quite a number of

83) Abbot Valentine (patronymic unknown) died in 1542 as last abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Lehnin in the district of Potsdam, seven to eight miles from Wittenberg. This gentleman was also sent by the Elector of Brandenburg a year later to attend the Leipzig Debate.

84) XV, 2375 f; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 178.

85) XIX, 874. Erl. v. a. II, 306 cf. p. 298; Weim. Ed. I, 634 ff.

great men, so that my Bishop of Brandenburg sent me a great messenger and demanded that I postpone the debate, which I have done, and still do, especially since my friends, too, advise the same. See what a monster I am, since even my purposes are intolerable.[86]

The student of Luther's life would do well if he were to note carefully the remarkable lack of public activity on the part of Luther during the five months immediately succeeding the posting of the Theses. Catholic reviewers of Luther have portrayed the impetuous, strife-loving, combative monk who madly rushes in where angels fear to tread. This Luther exists only in Catholic fiction. The real Luther stood like a soldier marking time and waiting for the signal of his superior officer. Luther's way was the way of calm and orderly effort; it was his enemies who lost their heads and resorted to vehement measures. And the courteous Scultetus, under whose episcopal eyes the most violent demonstration against Luther had occurred, the suave "peace bishop" who could blandly counsel Luther to go slow, had not raised a finger to restrain the Dominican mob at Frankfurt and the mad fire-brand Tetzel. Not until he knew that Luther's case had been taken up by a higher tribunal, about Easter, 1518, he released him from his promise of silence.[87] Luther had to suffer himself to be taunted with the insult that he had challenged men to a debate and then knew nothing to say in answer to his critics. Scultetus is the man whom Luther had to thank for this unjust criticism. He had simply duped Luther by his bland condescension; while he held Luther lovingly in his episcopal embrace and by his kindness paralyzed Luther's power for action, he gained time to prepare the engines for Luther's destruction.

86) XV, 2378; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 212; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 98.
87) XXIa, 95.

7. In the Professor's Study.

To the average person who has heard of Luther and his life-work, the Reformer is a warrior fighting the battles of the Lord, constantly engaged in strife. This, however, is only a partial view of Luther's life-work; it is the one that has made Luther prominent to the world at large. But alongside of his polemical activities Luther was engaged in quiet constructive work of his profession. To obtain a comprehensive view of him, this side of his activities should also be inspected, even at the risk of interrupting our review of his great public acts.

Luther's principal work was done at the university, where he expounded chiefly the theology of St. Paul. Aristotle's *Physics* were still on his schedule for the fall of 1517, but it was not "taught." The students, too, had become tired of the Stagyrite. Luther had gradually won his colleagues in the theological faculty, the Thomist Carlstadt, the Humanist Amsdorf, and Feldkirchen, over to his view. Amsdorf thanked him to the end of his life that he had taken him away from fruitless studies in which he had been engaged. Of the members of the other faculties the jurist Schurf entered into a solid friendship with Luther. In an appendix to this volume there is reproduced a fragment of a lecture by Luther at this time.

Next, Luther was appealed to by his friends for theological opinions, and in rendering them, he showed his wide and critical reading and his close observation of the book market. To exhibit Luther's many-sidedness

in this respect, we offer a series of loosely connected excerpts from his correspondence during four months.

To Spalatin he writes November 11, 1517:—

I wonder what may have been the matter with the person who has told you that Augustine in his book *On the Christian Doctrine* treats the subject of insuperable ignorance, when, in truth, that holy man in his entire book treats only the first and last part of rhetoric, namely, the subject of invention and delivery, as related to the instruction of Christian men in the doctrine.

As regards ignorance, the truth of the matter is this: the schoolmen have taught that in any matter, especially such as concerns salvation, there may be a twofold ignorance: one is affected and crass, as when a person purposely and with a labored effort acts in such a manner that it is seen he wants to be ignorant; the other is insuperable, as when a person so acts that with all that he can do he cannot become knowing. Of the former they say that it increases sin; of the latter, that it leaves a person entirely without guilt.[88]

Against these scholastics, as you see, I have proposed my thesis,[89] and my meaning is briefly this: To us every kind of ignorance is utterly insuperable, but to the grace of God no ignorance is insuperable; for we can do nothing of ourselves, while by the grace of God we can do all things; and the more we strive for wisdom by our own powers, the closer we approach to unwisdom, as Solomon says: "I said I will be wise; but it was far from me," [90] and as the apostle in Romans, Chap. 1, says that the Gentiles did. Therefore, it is not true that insuperable ignorance renders a person not guilty of sin; for in that case there would be no sin in the world.[91]

The same friend obtained from Luther an opinion on December 20th:—

As regards your questions, first, whether other women besides the Marys had been at the grave of the Lord, we have the clear text in the last chapter of Luke (Chap. 24, 10), where we read: "It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary, the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles," etc. Yet, there seem to have been many, chiefly those whom Luke enumerates in Chap. 8 (v. 2 f.) as women who followed the Lord, and of whom he again says at the end of Chap. 23 [Chap. 24, 1]: "Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulcher, bringing the spices which they had prepared" (no doubt, these

88) This distinction is first found in the Lombard (*Sentent.*, lib. II, dist. 22, c. 9 sq.). It was fully elaborated by the last of the schoolmen, Gabriel Biel, whose teaching on the matter Enders exhibits in a copious note. (*Erl. Brfw.* I, 128 f.)

89) Thesis 35 f. of the series debated September 4th, at the disputation of Franz Guenther for the degree of bachelor. See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 215. 90) Eccl. 7, 23. 91) XVIII, 28 ff.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 127 f.

are the identical persons of whom he had said before that they had followed Him); and in the Greek text these words are added: "and certain others with them,"[92] as Laurentius Valla and Erasmus testify. It seems to me that these "certain others" were none other than the parties aforementioned.

As to your other question, How many Marys were there? it is certain that from the Gospel it can be proved that there were only two Marys besides the mother of the Lord, namely, Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James. For it is a plain error that Mary is none other than Salome; for Salome is the name of a woman, not of a man; it is the feminine form of which Solomon is the masculine. Accordingly, we know from Josephus a Salome, the sister of Herod the Great. Read Matt. 20, 20, where the mother of the sons of Zebedee comes to Christ, and where Chrysostom comments: "This is Salome." And Mark 10, 35 gives the names of Zebedee's sons: John and James. But John 19, 25 calls Mary the wife of Cleophas, the sister of the Lord's mother. This same [Mary, the wife of Cleophas] is Mary, the mother of James. For in Matt. 13, 55 and Mark 6, 3 James, Joses, Judas, and Simon are enumerated as brothers of Christ, that is as children of the sister of Christ's mother, for that is what they are. Accordingly, John 19, 25 calls this Mary the wife of Cleophas, Mark 16, 1 calls her the mother of James: the one names her after her son, the other, after her husband. Note also that John mentions only Mary Magdalene as being at the grave: Matthew mentions two; Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, the wife of Cleophas or the mother of James; Mark names three: Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of James, and Salome; Luke, in fine, says that there were very many. For also Matthew (Chap. 28, 1) has spoken of "the other Mary" without giving her full name, to indicate that there was one Mary and still another—only two.

I hear that Dr. Conrad Wimpina is planning, I know not what, against the pastor of Zwickau in regard to this very subject,[93] namely, because the latter disproves the legend of St. Anna and argues especially against the three Marys. It seems difficult to me to refute him, although I should not like to see this legend dispatched by a controversy, but on account of the people I should rather see that interest in it would gradually cool down and cease, especially since this error, which has originated in a pious mind, is not to be condemned as much as the worship of the saints for money.[94]

On December 31st, Luther writes to him:—

You ask me, my dearest Spalatin, what I would think of condemning by means of theses the veneration of saints for temporal needs as a superstition. It was never my idea, my dear

92) These words are not in the Vulgate.

93) This inquiry into the Marys of the Scriptures agitated the Church at that time in many places, chiefly in France. (*Erl. Brfw.* I, 134.)

94) XXIa, 82 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 132 f.; excerpts in Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 66.

Spalatin, to call the veneration of the saints, or invoking them even for the most worldly motives, superstitious. For that is the view held by those heretics, our neighbors, the Beghards in Bohemia. It is better that we obtain from God through His saints whatever blessings there may be—since, after all, these are all entirely gifts of God—than that we seek to obtain them from the devil through magicians and wizards, as very many are in the habit of doing. But this is what I have wanted to maintain, *viz.*, that it is superstitious, yea, impious and perverse, to invoke God and the saints only for such things as pertain to the body, and to be entirely unconcerned about those things which pertain to the soul and salvation, yea, to the will of God, as if we had forgotten or did not believe the word of Him who said: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."[95] Yea, Christ everywhere teaches us to despise the body and the things that pertain to the body as merest trifles. Now, if it is permitted to pray for these things, the permission surely is extended to those only who are of imperfect faith, and live under Moses rather than under Christ. Accordingly, this worship of the saints is a matter merely to be tolerated for the sake of the weak brethren, but it is not to be extolled as if it were the most becoming thing in a Christian life. But observe now whether any of the saints is celebrated among the people on account of his chastity, patience, humility, faith, hope, charity, and other spiritual gifts to be obtained from them. These things are not sought, nor have we any saints to whom we come together in great crowds, build churches, and hold divine services for the sake of these things. But St. Lawrence is worshiped on account of the danger from fire, St. Sebastian on account of the plague, Martin and even the unknown St. Roche on account of poverty, St. Anna with her son-in-law and the blessed Virgin for ever so many things, St. Valentine for epilepsy, Job for the French itch; and thus Scholastica, Barbara, Catherine, Apollonia, in short, as many of the female saints as are famous, are celebrated merely for some relief to the body, and are so celebrated that in worship and pious exercises they are placed before the apostles, while indeed they would receive scant thanks if no one were in need of temporal things or did not care for them. For why do we not also invoke St. Paul in order that the soul may not die in ignorance of Christ, in the same manner as we invoke St. Christopher for I know what laughter at night?[96] Such people, I say, if they are weak, must be borne with and instructed till at last they know better, and, despising temporal things, seek for the spiritual, in order that

95) Matt. 6, 33.

96) In his *Exposition of the Ten Commandments* preached to the people of Wittenberg, from the end of June, 1516, to February 24, 1517, Luther cites a popular rhyme used by worshipers of St. Christopher: "Heiliger Christophorus, so grosse Kraft wohnt dir inne: Wer fruehmorgens dich sieht, des Mund ist zur Nachtzeit voll Lachens: Satan kann ihn nicht schlagen, durch jaehen Tod nicht verderben." (III, 1162.)

we may not always be children under Moses, but may some time lay hold of Christ also. But if the worshipers are of better faith, they are to be reproved for not seeking worthier things. It is, therefore, an error that we promote the worship of the saints by the fear of temporal ills and the desire for temporal blessings. But this is not to be said and inculcated on all in general, as is being done, but, as I said, on the little ones and those who are weak; the others, however, should be taught to seek from the saints the contrary things namely, punishments, diseases, scourges, crosses and diverse torments, as the Psalmist says: "Examine me, O Lord, and prove me, try my reins and my heart."[97] Now, if we were all to adopt what is fit only for a few, would not everything necessarily become filled with hypocrisy? Let there be milk for the weak, and let the robust go to work on solid food. You see, then, that to venerate the saints for the sake of our bodies is superstition, and it is not superstition. Those who can wish for spiritual things and see that they are in need of them, without doubt obtain earthly blessings under God's wrath, if they neglect to seek for the good Spirit. Finally, the Lord's Prayer in the three first petitions teaches us to pray for spiritual things and such as pertain to God, and afterwards for our own wants. But it is certain that this petition is perverted by those who do not care whether God rules them or serves them, and crave only to be freed from their ills, thus putting first what is last, and last what is first.[98]

Again, on January 8, 1518, he writes:—

Hitherto you have asked me things, my dearest Spalatin, that were within my power, or at least within my daring, to answer, but now that you ask to be directed in those studies which pertain to a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures you demand a task that far exceeds my ability, inasmuch as I have not been able myself to find anywhere a person that could direct me in such a great study. In this instance, surely, different men, and that, indeed, the best educated and most gifted of all, have different minds. Take, *e. g.*, Erasmus, who openly asserts that the blessed Jerome is such a great theologian in the Church that he might seem to be in a class by himself. If I oppose Augustine to him, I shall seem, not only because of my zeal for my monk's profession,[99] but also because of the widely published and long received authority of Erasmus, to be a rather unfair and partial judge, since Erasmus has said that it is most impudent to compare Augustine with Jerome.[100] Besides, some men hold this view, others that. For my part, since my education and gifts of genius are poor, I do not in such important affairs risk myself to express a definite opinion in the midst of such great judges.

97) Ps. 26, 2.

98) XXIa, 84 ff.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 35 ff.; cf. Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 66 ff.

99) Luther refers to the fact that he belonged to an order that was named after Augustine.

100) Smith points out that Luther must have read the introduction to the edition of Jerome which appeared in 1516. Luther's preference of Augustine was strongly revealed at the Leipzig Debate.

Finally, among those who hate good literature on account of the study it requires, or are ignorant of it because of their laziness, I always extol Erasmus in terms of highest praise and defend him as much as I can, taking very good care not to disclose points in which I differ from him, lest by some expression of mine I confirm men in their hatred of him. Still, if I must speak as a theologian and not as a grammarian, there are many things in Erasmus which seem to me far from the knowledge of Christ. Otherwise there is no man more learned nor more gifted than he, not even Jerome himself, whom he so much extols. And if you make this opinion of mine about Erasmus known to another person, know that you have broken the bonds of our friendship. I warn you from prudence. There are many, you know, who with tireless zeal seek an occasion for defaming good learning. What I have said, therefore, let it remain a secret; yea, do not believe me until you have made a test by reading (Erasmus). If you extort from me my plan of study, I shall indeed conceal nothing from you, my dearest friend; however, it must be with the understanding that you do not follow me except upon your own judgment.

In the first place, it is most certain that the Bible cannot be mastered either by study or by talent. Accordingly, the first duty incumbent on you is to begin with prayer, namely, with a prayer of this kind, that the Lord, if it please Him to accomplish anything by you for His glory, not for yours or that of any other man, could give you, out of His great mercy, the true understanding of His Word. For there is no teacher of the divine Word except He who is Himself the Author of His Word, as He says: "They shall be all taught of God."[101] Accordingly, you must utterly despair of your own zeal, likewise of your talents, and trust only in the inflowing of the Spirit. *Experto crede.* Next, when this humble despair has become fixed in you, read the Bible systematically from beginning to end, in order, first, to get the simple story into your mind—this, however, I believe, you have done long ago. To this end the blessed Jerome, both in his epistles and commentaries, will be of excellent use to you; however, for knowing Christ and the grace of God, that is, for a profounder understanding of the Spirit, the blessed Augustine and Ambrose seem to me far better guides, especially since Jerome seems to Origenize, that is, to allegorize too much (after the manner of Origen). I say this, however, saving the judgment of Erasmus, because you have asked, not for Erasmus's, but for my opinion.

If you like my plan of study, you will begin with the treatise of the blessed Augustine *On the Spirit and the Letter*, which our Carlstadt, a man of matchless zeal, has just expounded with wonderful comments and published;[102] his treatise *Against Julian*, likewise that *Against the Two Epistles of the Pelagians.*

101) John 6, 45.

102) This is the publication of which Carlstadt speaks in a letter to Spalatin, [illegible]

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You may add to this the treatise of the blessed Ambrose *On the Call of All the Gentiles.* Although this treatise as to style and thought and also as to the time of its composition belongs to another than Ambrose, it is nevertheless very learned. More later, if these suggestions should please you; and you will forgive my boldness in daring to set forth my plan in such a difficult matter over and above that of such great men. Lastly, I shall send you Erasmus's *Apology;* [103] but I am grieved because such a great conflagration has been started among such literary kings. Erasmus, indeed, has by far the better of the argument and also speaks in a fine, though somewhat bitter, style, while he is nevertheless at much pains to keep his friendship [with Lefevre].

Staupitz is tarrying at Munich in Bavaria, whence he wrote me a letter quite recently.[104]

On February 15th Spalatin obtains this advice from Luther:—

You again subjoin two little questions. First, as to what should be the mental attitude of one who is about to offer sacrifice,[105] or to engage in any other good work. I answer briefly: In whatever you do, your attitude should always be that of despair and of confidence of despair, on account of yourself and your work; of confidence, however, on account of God and His mercy. For thus says the Spirit: "The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him, in those that hope in His mercy." [106] For fear is, so to speak, the beginning of despair. To speak plainly, whenever you would offer sacrifice or engage in any work, know and believe firmly, without any doubt, that such work of yours cannot at all please God, no matter how great, good, and difficult it is, but that it will deserve to be reprobated. Therefore, you must first be your own judge and accuse and confess yourself as worthless, together with your work, in God's presence. This confession and accusation, since it springs from fear of the judgment of God before whom no work can stand, will make the work acceptable. Aye, it is not your work, but your self-accusation that pleases God, so that God has commanded us to do good works in order to afford us an occasion for self-accusation and showing our fear of Him, rather than to seek our service. Thus says the Psalmist: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." [107] And another text says: "The righteous accuses himself first." [108] Oh, that the definition of righteous-

103) The treatise against Lefevre d'Etaples, who, "in his edition of Hebrews, 1512, had proposed reading 'Thou hast made Him a little lower than God' instead of 'than the angels.' Erasmus, by rejecting this interpretation in his New Testament, had drawn down the animadversions of the French scholar in the second edition of Paul's Epistles, Paris, 1517, and it is to this that his *Apology* is directed. Luther obtained the work very promptly, as it appeared only late in 1517." Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 69 f.

104) XVIII, 1976; *Erl. Brfw* I, 140 ff.; cf. Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 68 ff.

105) That is, celebrate mass. 106) Ps. 147, 11.

107) Ps. 143, 2. 108) Prov. 18, 17 (according to the Vulgate).

ness has been unknown such a long time! What is righteousness? It is self-accusation. Who is a righteous person? One who accuses himself. Why? because he anticipates the judgment of God, and condemns what God condemns, namely, himself. Accordingly, he entirely agrees with God, and is of the same opinion, the same mind, with God, and for that reason he is truthful, righteous, etc. Thus says the blessed Augustine in the Ninth Book of his *Confessions:* "Woe to the lives of men, however laudable they be, if they are to be judged without mercy!" And the blessed Jerome, expounding that passage in Psalm 31: "For this shall every one that is godly pray unto Thee in a time when Thou mayest be found,"[109] in his *Dialog against the Pelagians,* says: "How can he be holy if he prays for his wickedness? Or how can he be wicked if he is holy?" etc. Thus the blessed Augustine throughout will teach you that all the saints are sinners. Therefore, when you have thus despaired of yourself and have humbly confessed this very fact to the Lord, you must without a doubt assume that He is merciful to you. For he who distrusts God's mercy sins no less than he who trusts in his works. God wants us to be bold with reference to Himelf, and altogether despairing as regards ourselves. Thus He has in the law of Moses long ago illustrated this matter, when He commanded not to take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge from a debtor,[110] that is, not to rob a sinner of hope nor of fear, but to have him ground and crushed between both. Thus the blessed Job was in fear because of all his works, and in Ecclesiasticus[111] we read: "Happy is the man that feareth always." Accordingly, you will do well if you become as bold in regard to God's mercy as you are despairing of your own work. For then it is not you working for your glory, but God works in you for His own glory; for in this business we are only seeking to have His mercy made glorious in us, not to have ourselves become puffed up before God because of our works. And this is the best, the only, and the final intention in all good works.[112]

Lastly, in a letter of February 22d, Luther advises Spalatin as follows:—

By the way, you ask to what extent I consider dialectics [logic] useful to the theologian. Indeed, I do not see how dialectics can be anything but harmful to a true theologian. It may be perhaps that for young men it is a useful sport and exercise, but in the Holy Scriptures, where we look for mere faith and illumination from above, the syllogism must be entirely left outside, exactly as Abraham, when about to offer sacrifice, left the servants and the asses behind. This is also sufficiently affirmed by Johann Reuchlin in the Second Book of his *Cabbala,* where he says: If any dialectics are necessary, that natural one

109) Ps. 32, 6; Luther quotes from the Vulgate.
110) Deut. 24, 6.
111) Luther misquotes; the text is not in Sirach, but in Prov. 28, 14.
112) XV, 2382 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 153 f.; excerpts in Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 70.

which is inborn in man is sufficient; by means of this a person is qualified to compare accepted facts with accepted facts and to draw true conclusions. Often I have made investigations with friends as to the profit that might seem to have accrued to us from our wearisome studies in philosophy and dialectics, and the result certainly was that we were unanimously surprised, yea, we lamented the fate meted out to our intellect, for we found no profit, but a whole ocean of harm in it.

I have finally written to Dr. Eisenach,[113] the king, it seems, of the dialecticians of our age, regarding this matter, and have chiefly alleged what cannot be denied, *viz.*, that dialectics cannot be useful, but must be harmful to theology, for the reason that theology employs the same grammatical terms in a far different sense from dialectics. How then, I say, can dialectics be profitable when on approaching theology I am compelled to reject a word which has this or that meaning in dialectics, and understand it in another sense? And lest I only seem to make words about this matter, I have cited instances, such as corpus, that is, body, which, in the *Tree of Porphyry*,[114] signifies something consisting of matter and form. But a body of this kind cannot be ascribed to man, since in Scripture our body signifies only matter without form, as in the passage: "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." [115] Furthermore, I adduced this instance that it is absurd to say that an angel is neither rational nor irrational; likewise, that it is of no use with regard to the Scriptures that man is said to be endowed with senses, reason, body, and soul. To sum up, I have said and still say that the entire figment of the *Tree of Porphyry* is less than a fiction of old women or a dream of sick men, and that it is rightly called Porphyry, that is, Bloody, namely, on account of the souls of Christians that are to be slain by it. Moreover, I demolished the categories and a few other things pertaining to philosophy, and also to theology.

This greatly displeased the gentleman, and he contended that my arguments were not incontrovertible, and must be so regarded by myself. But these people are prisoners of Aristotle and Porphyry, and do not heed *what* these men say, but *that* they say it. Hence it is that they cannot rightly understand much less teach, a single chapter of Scripture.

Accordingly, if you accept my judgment, let dialectics be profitable to you wherever it can, but in Holy Scripture it will be even harmful to you. I have honored the dogmas and rules of scholastic theology and wanted to treat the Bible in accordance with them with all diligence, and I have conceived a horror of the church fathers—may God punish me if I am lying! —more than of the confusion of hell; then is when I learned what profit there is in such studies. But I shall make a test of this with you some time when you are with me, and shall show by actual experience what I am now telling you.[116]

113) Trutfetter at Erfurt.
114) A table of logical categories.
115) Matt. 10, 28. 116) XV, 2400; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 160 f.

These excerpts give us a fair conception how far afield Luther had by this time gone from the standard theology of his age, and along what line his own theology was developing. The program of his reformatory work is clearly indicated in them, and they explain at the same time the alignment of many prominent people of the day for or against Luther.

Most interesting to the bookworm is this letter to Lang at Erfurt on February 19:—

Wolfgang Fabricius [117] writes, Reverend Father, that Erasmus's *Adages* [118] are being reprinted in an enlarged edition, besides the *Wail of Peace*,[119] the *Dialogs of Lucian*,[120] the *Utopia* of More,[121] (mentioned by Richard Pace) [122] and More's *Epigrams*, likewise two books of *Hebrew Grammar* by Capito himself, and that work on account of which I am now writing, Erasmus' Apology against Lefevre d'Etaples. I mention these books that you may know what to recommend to your librarians when they start for the Frankfurt Fair. I am thirsting for More's *Utopia* and Capito's *Hebrew Grammar*, chiefly, however, for that *Apology*, unless perhaps it is the same that we have had here for some time, namely, the treatise on Ps. 8, 6: "Thou hast made Him a little lower than the angels." It is to be regretted that such literary kings are rushing against each other with such violence in this matter. Now, whether it is a different one, or differently printed and enlarged, I wish to see it. The one which I have was never printed at Basel.

O Grecian, I beg you to solve a knotty point about which we are wrangling, *viz.*, what is the difference between *anathema* written with an *epsilon* and *anathema* written with an *etha*, and why do the Greek lexicons not give *anathema* with a short penult, when it is thus found throughout the New Testament, as Rom. 9, 3; 1 Cor. 12, 3; and twice in Gal. 1, 8, 9, excepting that Erasmus in his note on Rom. 9 has *anathema* with an *etha*, while in the text it is spelled with an *epsilon*, and in the dictionaries it is found only with an *etha*? I do not know how to determine the letters, otherwise I should prefer my opinion to yours. But since *anathema* with an *etha* signifies something laid aside or separated, the meaning being derived from *tithenai*, to lay or place, *anathema* with an *epsilon* may signify excommunication, or placing some one outside of a territory, or country, from the Greek *thema*, which signifies a region or country, hence *athema*—without a

117) Capito, originally Koepfel of Hagenau, whom we shall meet later.
118) Luther refers to the reprint by Froben in 1518.
119) *Querela Pacis undique Gentium Ejectae Profligataeque*, published in December, 1517, by Froben.
120) In the same volume as the foregoing; both by Erasmus.
121) Luther's opponent in England, later Chancellor to Henry VIII.
122) An English diplomat who was traveling in Germany at the time.

country, *anathema*—a separation to a place outside of a country, hence, excommunication.[123]

Space fails us, or we should take the reader into a very congenial circle of correspondents of Luther which had formed at Nuernberg. The leading figure in this group is the Augustinian Wenzeslaus Link, and ranking next is Christopher Scheurl. Jerome Ebner, one of the two chief officers of the little republic, Jerome Holtzschuher, a member of the Council of Seven, Caspar Nuetzel, Albert Duerer, and other prominent citizens belonged to this circle. On March 5, 1518, Luther acknowledges the receipt of a present from Duerer, most likely the latter's woodcuts of 1511 and a few copper etchings.[124]

This busy professor with his manifold literary interests was a pitiably poor man. He begs the Elector for a new garment that has been promised him a year ago.[125] To make sure that he will get it, he appeals to Spalatin, the Elector's private secretary,[126] and overflows with joy and thanks when he gets it.[127]

He had been wishing for some time to entertain a new colleague that had arrived at Wittenberg. After New Year, 1518, he musters up courage and asks Dr. Johannes Aesticampianus[128] to favor him with his presence at a luncheon at about ten o'clock in the morning or half an hour later, and says:—

My intention to invite you was always frustrated, and even now I cannot do all that ought to be done. But I presume with

123) XXIa, 89 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 157 f.; ecerpts in Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 71 f.

124) XXIa, 90 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 165 f.

125) XXIa, 77. 126) XV, 2403.

127) He writes to Spalatin, November 11: "With my heart and through your kind offices I return thanks to our most illustrious Elector: I have received the garment. But I thank you also; oh, what is there for which I am not indebted to you?" (XVIII, 28.)

128) That is, Johann Rack of Sonnenfeld in the Neumark, a Humanist, formerly at Cologne, where he had a controversy with Hogstraten, next at Leipzig, then in Freiburg, and since 1517 in Wittenberg, where he died May 31, 1520. He was a rhetorician, poet laureate, professor of sacred literature, and lectured on Pliny. He was salaried, so Luther informs Lang November 11, from the funds of the university and by the Elector. XV, 394; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 126 f.; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 64.

good reason that you are well acquainted with our modest circumstances, not to say our poverty.[129]

He asks him also to bring his "magister" along, whose name, Luther confesses, he does not know.

If there are cheerful givers, Luther was a cheerful receiver. On February 15 he writes:—

What you request, or rather command, my dearest Spalatin, I now do, namely, I send through you my thanks to the most illustrious Elector for the splendid and truly princely gift of venison donated by him to our fledgling magisters,[130] as we call them. I told them all that it was from the Elector. And personally I am wonderfully pleased still more by the affection of our most clement and generous Prince, as you call him; for even a man loveth a cheerful giver.[131]

8. A Glimpse of His Holiness.

Luther's Theses, with the report of the Archbishop of Mainz, reached Rome near the end of December, 1517.[132] They fell into the hands of the Master of the Pope's Palace, Sylvester Mazzolini, better known by his assumed name, Prierias.[133] This gentleman showed some "heretical" statements in Luther's writings on indulgences to Pope Leo X, who remarked in the presence of his company: "Brother Martin is a very fine intellect; and these things are monks' squabbles."[134] This report may well be credited because it comports with the known character

129) XXIa, 87; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 138.
130) They had just received their degree.
131) XV, 2381 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 153; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 70.
132) XV, 2390; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 353; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 152.
133) He was born in 1460 at Prierio near Montferrat, in Piedmont, from which town his assumed name was derived. At the age of eighteen he entered the order of the Dominicans. He attracted attention as a brilliant student and by invitation of the Senate of Venice began to teach theology at Bologna, whence Pope Julius II called him to Rome. Four years later he was appointed to the office which was always held by a Dominican, that of Master of the Sacred Palace, and held this office till his death in 1523. His works cover a great range: he wrote on planets, the power of demons, history, homiletics, and chiefly on the works of Aquinas and the primacy of the pope. (*Cath. Encycl.* X, 95.)
134) XVIII, 16, cited from the report of Colonesius in the *Tragic Histories* of Bandelli: "Che fra Martino avena un bellesimo ingenio, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche."

of this Pope.[135] At his election he had to sign a capitulation obligating him to institute a reformation of the Curia (not the Church). This promise was made, no doubt, in deference to the Lateran Council, begun under Pope Julius II, which had advocated measures to be taken against the corruption that had crept into the Church. Leo X dissolved this Council in 1517. A Catholic writer describes one of its closing scenes: Pico della Mirandola toward the close of the Lateran Council in 1517 "concluded a speech with the warning that if Leo X left such offenses longer unpunished and refused to apply healing remedies to these wounds of the Church, it was to be feared that God Himself would cut off the rotten limbs and destroy them with fire and sword. That

135) Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was born at Florence, December 11, 1475. Destined by his influential father for a career in the Church, he received the tonsure when a boy of seven, and in the two next years, owing to the political pressure which the House of the Medici was capable of exerting, was raised by Louis XI of France and Pope Sixtus IV to the abbacies of Fonte Dolce, Passignano, and other sinecures. The Pope had even been asked to make him archbishop of Aix, but hesitated to raise a boy of eight years to such a position. But on March 7, 1489, his father wrested from Pope Innocent VIII the appointment of Cardinal Deacon for his Giovanni, however, with the proviso that he would not be permitted to wear the insignia of his dignity until he became seventeen. He was then fourteen. Meanwhile his education proceeded on a humanistic basis. The brightest lights among the *connoisseurs* of classical literature became his teachers: Angelo Poliziano, the head of the Platonic Academy, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, the cultured philosopher and theologian, and Bernardo Dovizzi, later the notorious Cardinal Bibbiena. 1489-1491 Lorenzo sent this gifted scion of the Medicean family to Pisa, where he studied theology and Canon Law under Dezzo and Bartolomeo Sozzini. Gregor Cortese at this time accords him the praise that he overcame the dangers of youth by strict chastity, and conducted himself gravely and piously. In March, 1492, he donned the insignia of the cardinalate, and received from the Pope the title S. Maria in Dominica. At the death of Innocent VIII in July, 1492, he attended the conclave which elected Alexander VI pope, very much against the wishes of the House of Medici. When the Mediceans were overthrown in Florence, in August, 1492, Cardinal Giovanni traveled extensively, visiting Venice, Germany, Flanders, and France, and returned to Rome in 1500. The election of Julius II in 1503 by the favor of the Mediceans gave Giovanni an influential position at the court of this Janus-faced pope, who combined in himself the ideals of the Renaissance with the most rigorous conservatism. In 1509 the Pope appointed Cardinal Giovanni his Legate at Bologna. In the war with Milan, during which the papal forces were defeated by the French and the Milanese at the battle of Ravenna (April, 1512), the Cardinal was taken captive, but escaped from the French at Bassignano and reached Florence, where the Medici had been restored to power. In the conclave of March 4 11, 1513, he was elected pope.

very year this prophetic warning was verified. The salutary reforms of the Lateran Council found no practical acceptance. Pluralism, commendatory benefices, and the granting of ecclesiastical dignities to children remained customary; Leo himself did not scruple to set aside repeatedly the decrees of the Council. The Roman Curia, then much despised, and against which so many inveighed with violence, remained as worldly as ever. The Pope was either unwilling or not in a position to regulate the unworthy and immoral conduct of many of the Roman courtiers. The political situation absorbed his attention and was largely responsible for the premature close of the Council."[136] In support of this Catholic testimony Benrath [137] points out that "formally" Leo complied with the resolution of the Lateran Council and his own promise made at the time of his election regarding measures of reform: he published bulls which embodied the wishes of the Council. Towards a real reform, however, he was ill disposed and for the profound grievances of Luther he has never shown any intelligent appreciation. His remark to Prierias at the beginning of this chapter reveals the indolence of mind towards serious reflections that was so common among cultured Humanists.

Since Leo X plays such an important part in Luther's rupture with Rome, it is desirable to obtain as close as possible a view of this prominent actor in the Reformation drama. Barring the ordinary factional bias one can well be satisfied with the following accurate portrayal of this Pope from Catholic sources. Leo's personal appearance has been perpetuated in Raphael's celebrated picture in the Pitti Gallery of Florence. "He was not a handsome man. His fat, shiny, effeminate countenance with

136) *Cath. Encycl.* IX, 165. 137) PRE² IX, 388.

weak eyes protrudes in the picture from under a close-fitting cap. The unwieldy body is supported by thin legs. His movements were sluggish, and during ecclesiastical functions his corpulence made him constantly wipe the perspiration from his face and hands, to the distress of the bystanders. But when he laughed or spoke, the unpleasant impression vanished. He had an agreeable voice, knew how to express himself with elegance and vivacity, and his manner was easy and gracious. 'Let us enjoy the papacy since God has given it to us,'[138] he is said to have remarked after his election. The Venetian ambassador who related this of him was not unbiased, nor was he in Rome at the time; nevertheless, the phrase illustrates fairly the Pope's pleasure-loving nature and the lack of seriousness that characterized him. He paid no attention to the dangers threatening the papacy, and gave himself up unrestrainedly to amusements that were provided in lavish abundance. He was possessed by an insatiable love of pleasure, that distinctive trait of his family. Music, the theater, art, and poetry appealed to him as to any pampered worldling. Though temperate himself, he loved to give banquets and expensive entertainments, accompanied by revelry and carousing; and notwithstanding his indolence he had a strong passion for the chase, which he conducted every year on the largest scale. From his youth he was an enthusiastic lover of music and attracted to his court the most distinguished musicians. At table he enjoyed hearing improvisations, and though it is hard to believe, in view of his dignity and his artistic tastes, the fact remains that he enjoyed

138) Benrath notes two versions of this famous *bon-mot* of Leo X, one recorded by Marino Giorgio: "Godiamoco il papato, pichi Dio ce l' ha dato," and quoted above by our Catholic authority; the other as given by Prato runs: "Attendiamo a godere e facciamo bene alli nostri," that is, "Let us give ourselves over to joy and make our friends happy." PRE[2] IX, 387.

also the flat and absurd jokes of buffoons. Their loose speech and incredible appetites delighted him. In ridicule and caricature he was himself a master. Pageantry, dear to the pleasure-seeking Romans, bull-fights, and the like, were not neglected. Every year he amused himself during the carnival with masques, music, theatrical performances, dances, and races. Even during the troubled years of 1520 and 1521 he kept up this frivolous life. In 1520 he took part in unusually brilliant festivities. Theatrical representations, with agreeable music and graceful dancing, were his favorite diversions. The papal palace became a theater, and the Pope did not hesitate to attend such improper plays as the immoral *Calandra* by Bibbiena [139] and Ariosto's indecent "Suppositi." [140] His

139) Bibbiena (Bernardo Dovizi) . . . known best by the name of the town where he was born. Bibbiena, 4. August, 1470; died at Rome 9. November, 1520. His obscure parentage did not prevent him from securing a literary training at the hands of the best scholars and from associating with the most conspicuous men that Florence could produce. A jovial temper and racy Tuscan wit enhancing the charm of good looks and courtly manners soon made him the preceptor as well as the boon companion of Giovanni dei Medici's merry hours. When the Medici were banished and sorrow followed mirth (November, 1494), it was seen that a gay man of the world could become a brave and steadfast friend. Not long after, the protection of Julius II and many honors at the Roman court were to be his reward. In 1513 his strenuous exertions on behalf of his life-long patron secured the election of Giovanni dei Medici to the pontifical throne. Such services Leo X repaid by bestowing on him the purple robe, appointing him his treasurer, and entrusting him with many important missions, among them a legation to France (1518). Later on, the Cardinal's strong sympathies for France lost him Leo's confidence. The story, however, that he was poisoned, in spite of Givio and Grassi's reports, has absolutely no foundation. (Pastor, *Gesch. d. Paepste*, IV, Part I, Leo X.) As Cardinal he steadfastly extended a generous patronage to art. From Raphael, whose devotion he won, we have his best likeness. His literary fame is mainly connected with the first good comedy written in Italian prose, *La Calandra* (also known as *Il Calandro* and *La Calandria*), a distinctly juvenile production, probably given for the first time at Urbino, about 1507, and very elaborately performed at Rome, seven years later, in the presence of Leo X and Isabella Gonzaga d' Este, Marchioness of Mantua. Though marred by many scenes glaringly immoral, and though built upon the plot of Plautus's *Menaechmi* (which furnished Shakespeare the plot for his *Comedy of Errors*), it possessed the features of modern comedy and won plaudits for its sparkling wit and fine characterization. Ariosto and Machiavelli imitated him in their plays. The latest edition of *La Calandra* is in the Teatro Italiano Antico (Florence, 1888). (*Cath. Encycl.* II, 542.)

140) Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) is chiefly known by his *Orlando Furioso*, which was published at Ferrara, April 1, 1516, and dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito. It relates the love and marriage of Ruggiero and Brandamante, by which the origin of the house of Este is accounted for, and is the glorification of chivalry in all its elements. (*Cath. Encycl.* I, 712.)

contemporaries all praised and admired Leo's unfailing good temper, which he never entirely lost even in adversity and trouble. Himself cheerful, he wished to see others cheerful. He was good-natured and liberal, and never refused a favor either to his relatives and fellow-Florentines, who flooded Rome and seized upon all official positions, or to the numerous petitioners, artists, and poets. His generosity was boundless, so was his pleasure in giving a pose or desire for vainglory: it came from the heart. He never was ostentatious and attached no importance to ceremonial. He was lavish in works of charity; convents, hospitals, discharged soldiers, poor students, pilgrims, exiles, cripples, the blind, the sick, the unfortunate of every description were generously remembered, and more than 6,000 ducats were annually distributed in alms.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the large treasure left by Julius II was entirely dissipated in two years. In the spring of 1515 the exchequer was empty, and Leo never after recovered from his financial embarrassments. Various doubtful and reprehensible methods were resorted to for raising money. He created new offices and dignities, and the most exalted places were put up for sale. Jubilees and indulgences were degraded almost entirely into financial transactions, yet without avail, as the treasury was ruined. The Pope's income amounted to between 500,000 and 600,000 ducats. The papal household alone, which under Julius II had been maintained on 48,000 ducats, now cost double that sum. In all, Leo spent four and one-half million ducats during his pontificate and left a debt amounting to 400,000 ducats. On his unexpected death his creditors faced financial ruin. A lampoon proclaimed: "Leo X had con-

sumed three pontificates: the treasure of Julius II, the revenues of his own reign, and that of his successor." [141]

At about the time of this story the Pope had just escaped death in a conspiracy by Cardinals Petrucci, Sauli, Riario, Soderini, and Castellesi, which resulted in the execution of Petrucci and the punishment of the rest by heavy fines. "Riario paid the enormous sum of 150,000 ducats."

Such was the character of the person who was to decide Luther's fate in the Roman Catholic Church.

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9. Rome Appeals to the Augustinian Order.

The Pope's view of Luther and his Theses which we noted in the preceding chapter was not shared by the Curia. Prierias, one of the extremest advocates of papal absolutism, saw in Luther's attack on indulgences a veiled challenge of the sovereign power of the Pope who had ordered their sale—just like all the papists who had so far studied the Theses. It is owing to his incessant instigations, backed by the official report of the Archbishop of Mainz, that we find the Pope in the early part of 1518 devising ways and means for the suppression of Luther. It is probably at this time that he uttered a different sentiment regarding Luther's Theses, *viz.*, that they had been written by a drunken German, who would change his mind after he had become sober again.

Luther belonged to the order of Augustinian friars, and it seemed the logical and the easiest way to make his order responsible for the acts of one of its members.

141) *Cath. Encycl.* IX, 163.

The Dominicans, jealous of the prestige of the Augustinians, rejoiced to have found an opportunity to bring the order into disrepute. Just at this time the order was without an official head, since its last Pro-Magister, or Vicar-General, Egidius of Viterbo, whose teacher Leo X had been at one time, had been appointed cardinal by the Pope during the summer of 1517.

The Pope, who had the right to appoint a Vicar-General during the vacancy, until the order could choose a successor to the last incumbent, offered the position to Gabriel della Volta, or Venetus, in a letter dated January 23, 1518.[142] But the offer was declined. The Pope, however, insisted on Gabriel's acceptation because of the Lutheran disturbance, as the following letter of February 3rd shows:—

To Gabriel Venetus, Pro-Magister of the Order of Augustinian Eremites:

In your letter, worded as emphatically as wisely, you express your thanks for the office which I voluntarily offered to you, and decline it, alleging certain reasons why you cannot accept it, partly on account of your natural temperament, which is accustomed more to quiet than to public activity, partly on account of your inferior intellect and aptitude which causes you to shrink from great and important affairs, partly because of your enfeebled physical condition. I have been greatly pleased with your letter, because it affords me an opportunity to frankly speak my mind to you. I rejoice greatly because you are not inflated with that desire to rule others which is found in most men. Humbly reflecting upon your strength and ability, you esteem them quite insignificant. Your extraordinary honesty and intelligence of no mean order, if not your perfect virtue, prompt you to do this. I have heard these characteristics of yours praised and extolled heretofore by all, but I am very glad that your letter has convinced me of the truth of these reports. Your reference to your enfeebled body and frequent illness gives me no concern whatever, because you are so much stronger in mind. For I hope that the Lord will give you power and strength to bear with courage and great profit His burden which He places upon your shoulders through me. Accordingly, your very scrupulous excuses have had this effect on me that I have conceived a greater love for you and a much higher opinion of you than before. But they have not prevailed upon me to grant you a release. I can rather assure you that I have become confirmed in my opinion

142) XV, 424 ff.

of you; my affection for you has been increased, and my desire has been revived to see you placed at the head of your order all the more because no one — I am speaking of the brethren of your particular order — has ever been known to decline this office of Vicar-General, but most of them have rather zealously sought after it. For since you have not become excited over my offer, you are free from avarice, and since you do not look to your interests, you are not swayed by love or hatred of other men. Therefore, I have not the least fear that you will be swayed by these passions in the assignment of positions and offices of honor, or that you will be unjust in administering justice and assessing penalties, because you have no desire to do anything, are not striving after anything, do not want anything. And it is almost impossible that a person who knows how to govern himself well should not exercise justice also towards others. To such a person the office of a ruler ought to be assigned; such a person in particular should be placed over others. By virtue, then, of the statute which regulates the declination of a governing office, I command you to enter upon this office without delay, and not to cherish any further hopes that your excuses will prevail.

And in order to give you at once a charge which is to be the principal and most important business in which you are now to be engaged, it is my will and wish that you trouble yourself with the case of Martin Luther, an eremite of your order, of whom you will have heard that he is causing all manner of disturbances in Germany, and is preaching to our people new dogmas which they are to receive. By the authority which the prefecture vests in you, turn him aside, if possible, from his purpose, both by letters and by learned and honest mediators, of whom you will find many in Germany. These are to endeavor to calm and pacify the man. If you will do this promptly, I am in hope that it will not prove difficult to quench the fire that has just been started. For nothing can withstand a great and vigorous attack while it is still small and has just begun to raise its head. But if you delay and lose courage, I am afraid that we shall not be able, even if we should wish, to find means for putting out the fire. For the evil is growing from day to day, is gathering power and strength, so that nothing seems more risky than delay. I consider it unnecessary to give you detailed instructions and commands regarding this matter. Your virtue, your conscience, your rectitude, your exceptional learning, will sufficiently teach you and put you in mind what to do and how to go at this business. I only recommend to you in a general way that you give your whole mind and thought, zeal, pains and labor, to the achievement of our purpose. It is perfectly right to demand this of you, partly because you now have authority to issue orders to him, partly because you excel others in intellect and learning, partly because this is a matter of great moment to our common cause which you are serving, and partly because this is the particular demand

of one who loves you so much and thinks so highly of you, and to whose secret influence you owe everything.[143]

This letter affords an interesting glimpse of the character of the information that was reaching the Pope from Germany in those days, and that explains his solicitousness and the serious view which he now takes of Luther's Theses and preaching. The object of the dealings with Luther, as the Pope views them, must be to induce him to desist from his purpose, but this is to be effected, it seems, by means of argument. Needless to say that Gabriel yielded to Leo X. Grisar says:—

There is no doubt that instructions to this effect were dispatched by Volta to Staupitz, and probably other measures were contemplated at the approaching chapter of the German Augustinian Congregation at Heidelberg.[144]

To Staupitz, then, we turn for information regarding the next step taken against Luther. The first letter of Luther to Staupitz after the posting of the Theses is dated March 31, 1518. It reads like an apology, and suggests the thought that Luther had been asked for an explanation by his Provincial, or that he felt somebody might have slandered him to his old friend.

To my Father and Superior in Christ, Staupitz.

JESUS.

Greeting: Since I am occupied with very many things, I am compelled, my father in the Lord, to write very briefly. In the first place, I readily believe that my name is in bad odor with many; for good men have a long time ago raised such charges against me as these that I condemn praying the rosary, prayers to the crown of the Blessed Virgin,[145] chanting psalms and other prayers, and, last not least, even all good works. St. Paul had the same experience with those who said that he said: "Let us do evil that good may come."[146] As for me, I have

143) XV, 426 ff.; cf. Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, VIII, 361. Grisar, I, 333 ff.

144) *l.c.*—Gabriel's regular election by over 1,100 representatives of his order at Venice during May is described as a miracle in a letter of Leo X in XV, 428 ff.

145) These prayers were called *coronae*. (XXII, 1319.)

146) Rom. 3, 18.

followed, you know, the theology of Tauler [147] and of that little book [148] which you lately gave to our friend Christian Doering [149] to print. I teach that men should trust in nothing save Jesus Christ only, not in prayers and merits, or in their own works; for we are saved, not by our own running,[150] but by the mercy of God. From these teachings my opponents suck the poison which you see them scattering around. But as I did not begin this work to gather fame, I shall not drop it because of infamy. God will see to it. These same men excite hatred against me on the ground of my view of the scholastic doctors; for because I prefer the church fathers and the Bible to them, they are almost insane with their hot zeal. I read the scholastics with judgment, not as they do, with closed eyes. Thus the apostle commanded: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." [151] I do not reject all that they say, nor do I approve all. But it is a habit of these babblers to take a part for the whole, to make a conflagration out of a spark, and an elephant out of a fly. But with God's help I care nothing for these scarecrows. They are words; words they will remain. If Duns Scotus, Gabriel Biel, and their ilk had the right to differ from St. Thomas Aquinas, and the Thomists, in turn, have the right to contradict the whole world, so that in the end there are almost as many sects among the schoolmen as there are heads, yea, as there are hairs on each one's head, why do they not accord me the same right over against them that they claim for themselves over against each other? But if God is at work, no one will stop Him. If He is not at work, no one will rouse Him. Farewell, and pray for the truth, wherever it may be.[152]

While Luther wrote this letter to the Provincial of his order, he and the Augustinians in Germany in general were preparing to attend the spring chapter of the order, which Staupitz had summoned to meet at Heidelberg on Jubilate Sunday. Gabriel della Volta had mean-

147) Luther's high esteem of Tauler, whose Theology he had translated into German in 1516, is seen in early letters to Spalatin, XXIa, 56. 64 f.

148) During Advent, 1517, Staupitz had delivered a series of sermons at Muenchen, which were published in 1518 under the title "Ain saeligs newes jar. Uon der lieb gottes." (A Blessed New Year. On the Love of God.) Luther published a new edition of this book, under the title "Von der Liebe Gottes Ain Wunder Huepsch Vnderrichtung, Beschriben Durch D. J. Staupitz bewert und approbiert durch Do. Martinum Luther baide Augustiner ordens." (On the Love of God. A wonderfully beautiful instruction, written by Dr. J. Staupitz, Confirmed and Approved by Dr. Martin Luther; both of the order of Augustinians.) A copy of this book Luther sent to his mother, with the inscription: "Meiner lieben Mutter Margarethen Lutherin." (To my dear mother, Margaret Luther.)

149) Also called Aurifaber, or Aurifex. He was a goldsmith, printer and publisher.

150) Rom. 9, 16.

151) 1 Thess. 5, 21.

152) XXIa, 93 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 175 f.; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 78.

while instructed Staupitz to force Luther to recant his position at this meeting. Ten days before writing to Staupitz, Luther said in a letter to Lang at Erfurt that the opposition to him among the partisans of the indulgence traffic was becoming very violent, and had added:—

> Everybody advises me not to go to Heidelberg, lest perchance they will do by guile what they cannot accomplish by force. However, I shall fulfil my vow of obedience, and go thither on foot, and, God willing, I shall also pass through Erfurt. But do not wait for me; for I shall hardly start before Tuesday after Quasimodogeniti Sunday (April 13).[153] Our Elector, who is inclined with wonderful affection to these solid studies of theology, without having been asked, takes me and Carlstadt completely under his protection and will in no wise suffer me to be dragged to Rome, which greatly vexes my enemies, who know it.[154]

Add to this the precautionary measures which the Elector took for Luther's journey to Heidelberg. First, he requested Staupitz to see to it that Luther be not detained at Heidelberg longer than was absolutely necessary, as his presence was urgently needed at the university. "You have indicated to us," he reminds the Provincial, "that you intend to train this man to be a doctor," which meant that Staupitz must take care lest the doctor meet with foul play. Secondly, the Elector gave Luther a letter of safe-conduct couched in such terms that it elicited the admiration of an expert at Heidelberg. Thirdly, letters of introduction were supplied Luther to the Bishop of Wuerzburg and to the nobleman von Thungen at that place, soliciting their aid in expediting Luther's journey; not to mention that the Elector's wards and stewards along the road to Heidelberg were informed that they must give him every possible aid.[155] Last, not least, the Elector entrusted

153) Luther, however, did start April 9. (Smith: "on Sunday, April 11;" however, cf. XVII, Einl., p. 4.)
154) XV, 2379; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 169; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I. 74.
155) Koestlin, *Luther's Leben* I, 172 f.

Luther to the special care of Elector Ludwig V of Heidelberg. All these measures indicate a certain anxiety on the part of the Elector in Luther's behalf. Grisar minimizes their importance:—

> These documents, he says, merely prove the exceptional favor which Luther enjoyed with the reigning Prince.[156]

He scouts the idea that the Elector meant to anticipate measures against Luther at the Chapter. This is probably correct; the Elector did not fear anything from the Augustinians, but he did think of personal dangers to his professor on his journey to and from Heidelberg.

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10. Heidelberg.

In deciding to attend the chapter at Heidelberg, Luther acted from a sense of duty because of his monk's vow. His term of office as Rural Vicar of his order had expired; he must give the brethren an account of his administration, and then turn his district over to his successor. He was busy till the moment of his departure. Shortly before Easter he hurriedly pens five lines to his Spalatin to inform him that he may not be able to preach on the three successive days of the Easter-festival (April 4, 5, and 6), but he trusts that Amsdorf will take his place.[157] Another brief note to the same friend calls for information whether a letter of his written upon the Elector's and Spalatin's request,[158] has been received, and whether he is to receive an answer before he starts on his journey; for he has now decided to leave five days

156) *l. c.*, I, 334.
157) XXIa, 95; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 180. 158) This letter is lost.

sooner than he wrote to Lang, on Friday before Quasimodogeniti, April 9.[159]

The journey, which was to be made on foot, proved a happy diversion for overworked Luther. When he described himself to Archbishop Albert as looking "more like a corpse than a living human being," he exactly pictured his debilitated physical condition. He was quite emaciated, weary with incessant mental labor, and wan from many a vigil. We see in this another reason why the Elector did not favor the idea of allowing this living skeleton to undertake a foot-tour for a distance which carriages usually covered in not less than fourteen days. With his brother Augustinian Leonhard Beyer and an attendant, Urban,[160] who knew the way and was a trained pedestrian, Luther started out in the early part of a beautiful German spring. In the higher mountainous districts of the Thuringian Forest there were still vestiges of snow, but in the valleys the orchards were in bloom. The break in his exacting routine work, the balmy atmosphere, and the stimulating exercise put Luther at once in the best of spirits. The very first letter which he writes to Spalatin, six days after leaving Wittenberg, is sparkling with humor. Luther had intended to travel incognito, and, excepting a few incidents, succeeded fairly well, he writes, as far as Coburg. They had taken the road up the valley of the Saale towards Halle. When they passed through Weissenfels, the young priest of the place who had obtained his Magister's degree at Wittenberg recognized his former teacher and insisted on entertaining him. Continuing, they ascended to the crest of the forest, and at Judenbach

159) XXIa, 95; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 180 f.
160) Seidemann suggests that his name was Muehlmann, and Burkhardt thinks that he was a professional messenger, *cursor*.

met the Elector's Counselor, Degenhardt Pfeffinger, a doctor of jurisprudence, who was frequently abroad on official business.[161] He was a reticent man and of parsimonious habits,[162] but on very friendly terms with Luther. As Pfeffinger was returning to the Elector, Luther narrated to him for communication to his friend Spalatin the incidents of the journey which we have noted so far. The jolly temper of Luther at this meeting is reflected in the account which he gives a few days later in a letter to Spalatin:—

> Among other things it was a sweet satisfaction to me to make a rich man some groschen poorer. You know how pleased I am whenever I can do it conveniently, not to let the rich go unplucked, especially when they are my friends. For I took care that Pfeffinger had to pay the supper also for my companions who were strangers to him, ten groschen for all of us together.

This same policy, Luther declares, he was bent on pursuing also at Coburg. The castle-warden at this place, where Luther, twelve years later, was to spend memorable months, was to pay his expenses, and if he should refuse, Luther would nevertheless charge all accounts to the Elector. Though surrounded with dangers and confronting a critical future, Luther appears perfectly free from worry.

It was towards night when they reached Coburg; the warden had gone up to the castle and had not come back; Luther could not deliver his letter to him. He decided not to wait for his return, as he might be detained by pressing business too long, but merely to take a good night's rest and push forward on their journey the next morning.

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161) Besides being employed by the Elector, he was also the Marshal of Lower Bavarian Diet, and a large landholder in that district.

162) Luther suspected that the reason why he did not get the garment which the Elector had promised him was because close-fisted Pfeffinger had been entrusted with the business.

Everything else is all right, Luther reports to his friend, except that I confess that I sinned in coming on foot. Since my contrition is perfect and full penance has been imposed for it, I need no indulgence for remission. I am terribly fatigued, but there are no vehicles to be had anywhere, and thus my contrition, penitence, and satisfaction is abundant, great, thorough, and sufficient.

With a request for his friend's prayers and greetings to the Elector's gouty confessor, the Franciscan Father Jacob, he closes his letter.[163]

A sigh of relief heads his next letter to Spalatin on April 19th:—

At last we have arrived at Wuerzburg, on Sunday Misericordiae.

During the last days the travelers had become so footsore that Urban had to shorten the day's journey. They were received at the Augustinian convent, where they found Lang from Erfurt. Luther promptly delivered the Elector's letter to Sigismund von Thungen, but was informed that the nobleman had gone on a journey and would not return until two or three days.

But the reverend bishop,[164] when he had received my letter of introduction, summoned me, talked with me face to face, and wished our guide to accompany us again on the way to Heidelberg at his own expense. However, as I found several of my order here, especially our Erfurt Prior Johann Lang, I thanked the kind lord, but did not consider it necessary that the messenger should be engaged for me.[165] For I want to ride with them, as I am quite tired from walking. I only asked that he

163) XV, 418; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 183 ff.; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 79.

164) Lorenz von Bibra, a friend of the reformatory movement.

165) Urban had been engaged only as far as Wuerzburg.—Bishop Lorenz died ten months later, February 6, 1519. Shortly before his death, when the animosity against Luther owing to the insidious activities of Eck had increased, he wrote to Elector Frederic: "Your love must by no means permit that godly man Doctor Luther to depart from you; for he would be wronged." Like all Franconian noblemen this bishop was incensed at the tyranny and extortionate practices of Rome. When he would hear of people in his diocese wanting to sell some property to endow a cloister which a son or daughter of theirs was to enter, he would call them to him and say: "My good man, find your daughter a husband; do not put her into a nunnery. If you need money, I will make you a loan." XV, 421 f.; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 186.

would deign to provide me with a so-called letter of safe-conduct, which I have received this hour. I shall set out in a wagon, and leave the letter for Sigismund von Thungen with the chaplain of the reverend bishop.

I think our guide Urban deserves to be given a little better compensation. For on our account he was compelled to travel more slowly. If I were home, I would urge this matter on our Mr. Hirschfield;[166] for the man deserves it on account of his faithful and upright character. Do thou also speak for him; I am poor, and have to be; I gave him too little.

We do not know whether Luther met Johann Reiss at Wuerzburg, of whom he had undoubtedly read in the *Letters of Obscure Men*, where one of the monks complains that Reiss, who was connected with the principal church of the town, would belong to no school except the school of Christ, and had declared that God thought very little of monks' vows and cassocks because He does not judge people by their garments. Against indulgences Reiss had proposed this thesis: Nothing is to be compared to the Gospel, and whoever does right goes to heaven. If a person buys indulgences a hundred times and does not lead a proper life, he will be damned, and his indulgences will not help him. On the other hand, if a person leads an upright life, or when he has sinned repents and makes amends, to him I announce that he will be a citizen in the kingdom of heaven, and that he is not in need of any other aid to that end.[167]

With his dear Lang, Luther started through the Odenwald for Heidelberg. The variegated landscape was teeming with the beauty and busy life of the season. "The Franconians are in hopes," he writes, "that there will be an abundant vintage. They are foretelling it on the ground of the favorable weather this May." If the conversation so far with Beyer, who was co-respondent

166) A familiar friend and benefactor of Luther.
167) Hausrath, *Luther* I, 202.

with him at the debate in Heidelberg a few days later, had been animated and profound, it became still more so now that Luther had his intimate friend Lang with him. Hausrath thinks that Luther's Heidelberg Theses, which are well elaborated, were not prepared in haste amid the unrest at the cloister at Wittenberg, but grew out of the travelers' talk on their journey.[168]

Other travelers since Luther have been charmed with Old Heidelberg.[169] Luther's cheerful spirits and elation rose still higher when he entered this quaintly beautiful medieval city. Here he met Link, who had come from Nuernberg and his fatherly friend and protector Staupitz. Also Usingen, Luther's former teacher at the University of Erfurt, had arrived. They found quarters in the Augustinian convent over which Prior Augustin Lupf, one of the most cultured prelates of the Empire, presided. Elector Ludwig V was absent; Luther delivered the Elector's letter to his brother, Count Wolfgang, and renewed a happy acquaintance with him. For the count, who had contemplated entering holy orders, had taken a course in theology at Wittenberg in the summer of 1515, and had even served a term as Rector of the university. He promptly reported Luther's arrival to the anxious Elector Frederick in a letter of May 1st:—

My kind service and love to you, high-born Prince, kind, dear Lord and Cousin: We have received and carefully read your Grace's letter requesting us to help, according to our power, Dr. Martin Luther, Augustinian, lecturer at Wittenberg, in case he should need it. We give your Grace kindly to know that we, as a member of the said university, at your Grace's request, are anxious to help the said Doctor in all that is in our power, should he desire anything, but that he has shown us nothing in which he needed our help, as you will doubtless learn from himself.[170]

168) *l. c.* I, 200.
169) Alt-Heidelberg, du feine,
Du Stadt an Ehren reich,
Am Neckar und am Rheine
Kein' andre ist dir gleich. *V. v. Scheffel.*
170) XV, 423; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 83.

Luther describes his reception to Spalatin, May 18th, as follows:—

The most illustrious Count Palatine Wolfgang and Magister Jacob Symler [171] and Hazius, the Master of the Court, received me in splendid style. For he invited us, that is, also Father Staupitz the Vicar and our friend Lang, who is now our Rural Vicar, and in a pleasant and enjoyable conversation we found mutual cheer, eating and drinking, and inspecting with wonderment all the precious things in the court chapel at the Castle,[172] next, the arsenal, and, in a word, nearly all the beautiful objects which that truly royal and most noble castle contains. Magister Jacob could not praise the letter enough which our Elector wrote in my behalf, saying in his Neckar dialect: "Ihr habt by Gott einen kystlichen credentz." (By God, you have splendid credentials.) We lacked nothing that belongs to a kind reception.[173]

No doubt, the events that had lately transpired at Wittenberg and become world topics furnished no small part of the subjects for these animated conversations in this circle of congenial men.[174]

The regular business of the chapter was soon dispatched: Staupitz was re-elected Provincial, and Lang became Luther's successor, thus relieving Luther of a certain restraint which he had had to impose on himself in his public activities because of his office in the order. Besides much preaching the program of the chapter included regularly a public disputation. The brethren appointed Luther the leader in this discussion: he had been most scurrilously attacked by the Dominican Tetzel at Frankfurt, and now the reverend Augustinian fathers took up the gauntlet that had been thrown down to all of them in the person of their brother Luther. Thus,

171) The count's tutor, who had accompanied him to Wittenberg.

172) The Church of the Holy Ghost, which boasted among other rarities a splinter from the cross of the Lord and a fragment of His garment, both set in crystal.

173) XV, 2392; *Erl. Brfw.* I, 192. Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 84.— Hausrath remarks: "Fruehlingssonnenschein, humanistische Lebensfreude, der freie Sinn eines liberalen Hofes und weltmaennischer Gelehrter ist der Glanz dieser Heidelberger Tage."

174) Count Wolfgang, a few years later, gave up his intention of becoming a priest, and before he died the Palatinate had espoused the cause of the Reformation.

although not a word was said about the Ninety-five Theses, Luther's appointment was a virtual pledge of the brethren to stand by Luther. Leonhard Beyer was co-respondent at the disputation.

The Heidelberg Theses,[175] says Hausrath, are "the purest expression of Luther's Augustinism, a brief compend of his lectures on Romans. They show, moreover, in what way Luther, in the quiet of his study, had since his theses at Wittenberg deepened and drawn more sharply the basic lines of his religious views taken over from St. Paul. The mysticism of Augustine has never been presented in such epigrammatic and profoundly genial style. There are two eccentric circles: sin under the Law is the one, grace through Christ the other. While Augustine had admitted the possibility at least of *civil* righteousness, Luther regards everything that the sinner does as sinful. Even his most beautiful actions contain the worm of selfishness. Luther really maintains what Augustine never wrote, *viz.*, that the virtues of pagans are glittering vices. On the other hand, what God does may seem ugly to man, but represents nevertheless everlasting merit. Also at this point Luther goes beyond Augustine, maintaining that even before the Fall perseverance in his innocence and progression in godliness was not possible for Adam by his own free will, but only by the gracious operation of God, an inference of the monergistic theory which besides him only Calvin has drawn.[176] To the scholastic "theology of glory," which boasts its ability to give information on all the mysteries of heaven and earth, Luther opposes the theology of the Apostle, who preached nothing but the Crucified One. This "theology of the cross" alone

175) See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 218 ff.

176) With this difference that Calvin's grace is always particular grace, designed exclusively for the elect, while Luther's grace is always universal grace, designed for each and all.

instructs us toward our salvation, while the "theology of glory" teaches us how to misuse most grossly what is the highest good. On the following day Luther declared outright to the Dominican Butzer that with these theses he had meant to strike at the entire theological activity of the Thomists and Scotists. But when his theology of the cross directs man to faith as that which alone produces acts pleasing to God, it is clear that faith is not something theoretical, but a power emanating from Christ. Faith is the *beginning*, not the basis, of our justification.[177] All that we can do towards it consists in our willingness to repent and confess our moral impotence. If we regard any one of our sins as venial, it becomes *eo ipso* a mortal sin; if in thorough contrition we regard it as a mortal sin, it becomes *eo ipso* venial. Free will since the Fall is a mere nominal affair. Striving to attain to grace by his own works man by his very self-righteousness piles sin upon sin and becomes doubly guilty. He has to despair of himself altogether in order to become fit to receive the grace of Christ. Not he is righteous who devotes himself to workmongery, but he who without any works trusts in Christ. The Law says: Do this: and it is never done. Grace says: Believe in Him! and everything is accomplished. That which does the work is what Christ has done: it is a power of salvation that floods the world, a stream of grace that starts at the cross, and from which springs every good work. Our good works are wrought by Christ working. They are the *passivum*, Christ is the *activum*. Thus our works are pleasing to God only by the grace of Him who wrought them. For the love of God finds in us nothing lovable;

177) Not only the beginning, but also the middle and end of it; the very first spark of faith justifies the sinner completely.

it must first create it. The love of man is kindled by something worth loving that he discovers; the love of God produces for itself the lovable object. Man says: If you wish me to love you, why, then you must be lovable. God says: If you wish me to love you, I shall have to refashion you in order that I may love you. There is nothing good in us except by the operation of God; and nothing that God works can constitute a merit of our own: that is the Alpha and Omega of these Theses, which simply reiterate the child's prayer: "Lieber Gott, mach' mich fromm, dass ich zu dir in Himmel komm'!" (Heavenly Father, make me godly, that I may come to Thee in heaven.)[178]

The theses against the scholastic theology, that is, against Aristotle, were submitted for discussion in spite of the presence of Usingen, whose whole theology was bound up in Aristotle, as was that of all his Erfurt colleagues; but they were not discussed. Luther did not urge them, and after this seems to have relegated them to the limbo of forgotten things with which others might bother, if they still found any pleasure in these things.

Count Wolfgang, in his letter to Elector Frederic, gives his impression of the disputation as follows:—

> Luther has acquitted himself so well here with his disputation that he has won no small praise for your Grace's university, and was greatly lauded by many learned persons. This we would not withhold from your Grace, for we are always ready to serve you.[179]

In the letter to Spalatin to which we referred before, Luther, too, describes the scenes at this debate:—

> My disputation the reverend doctors [180] gladly admitted, and

178) *l. c.* I, 295 f. 179) XV, 424; Smith, *L.'s Corresp.* I, 83.

180) Of the university faculty there were present Rector Lorenz Wolf of Speyer, Marcus Stiess, Johann Hassel, Peter Scheibenhart of Deidesheim, and Georg Nigri (Schwartz). The last named is the junior professor to whom Luther refers; he was the only member of the faculty to voice his dissent.

argued with me with such moderation that I am much obliged to them on that score. Although the theology seemed strange to them, nevertheless they skirmished with it shrewdly and politely, except one, who was the fifth and junior professor; he moved the whole audience to laughter by saying: "If the peasants heard this, they would stone you to death."

The kindly disposition which the fathers displayed shows that they were free from bias, at least towards Luther personally.

A valuable contribution to our knowledge of this important episode in Luther's life has been made by a Dominican monk in the audience whom Luther met here for the first time, and who entered largely into Luther's later activities. Martin Butzer[181] was a ready writer and took down Luther's remarks during the disputation. Still, under the impression of Luther's lucid presentations and of a private conference which he had with him over a repast at the refectory of the convent, he writes to his intimate friend, Beatus Rhenanus[182] the following glowing account:—

I have heard your attack on our theologians, and I should have been sorry had it been vain. Wherefore, lest you should seem to yourself to have triumphed, after we Heidelbergers had deserted the cause, (for it fared otherwise with our elder

181) He was born in Schlettstadt in Alsatia, the home of the patriot Wimpfeling. Hampered by the poverty in his home and striving after greater things, he had at the age of fifteen taken the desperate step to enter the Dominican order. He would point to himself as an illustration of the old saying: "Despair makes monks." He was a shrewd, loquacious, impressible, and hence unreliable character. In the hope of coming closer to the enlightened humanistic circles, he had himself transferred from Schlettstadt to Heidelberg, but did not find even at this place what his restless, ambitious mind was longing for, until he heard Luther denounce Aristotle and extol Paul. Then his heart leaped: this was the man for whom he had been looking so many years.

182) "Beatus Bild of Rheinau (1485 May 20, 1547) matriculated at Paris, 1503, B. A. 1504. He then began working as proofreader for Henry Estienne; in 1507 returned to Schlettstadt, and in 1508 to Strassburg. From 1511 to 1526 he worked at Basle, publishing and editing books for Froben. From 1526 to his death he lived at Schlettstadt. His historical work was large and good, and he was also an assistant and friend of Erasmus, whose religious views he shared." Smith, *l. c.* I. 80 f.

Wimpfeling,[183] although he defended us nobly,) I will oppose to you a certain theologian, not, indeed, one of our number, but one who has been heard by us in the last few days,[184] one who has got so far away from the bonds of the sophists and the trifling of Aristotle, one who is so devoted to the Bible, and is so suspicious of antiquated theologians of our school (for their eloquence forces us to call them theologians and rhetoricians, too), that he appears to be diametrically opposed to our teachers. Jerome, Augustine, and authors of that stamp are as familiar to him as Scotus or Tartaretus[185] could be to us. He is Martin Luther, that abuser of indulgence, on which we have hitherto relied too much. At the general chapter of his order celebrated here, according to the custom, he presided over a debate, and propounded some paradoxes, which not only went farther than most could follow him, but appeared to some heretical. But, good Heavens! what real authentic theologian would these men approve, whose touchstone in approving or condemning doctrines is Aristotle, or rather the pestilent poison disseminated by his corrupters? Why should I not say this frankly of the foolish trifling with which they drench and foul the divine food of our minds, the holy oracles and their most holy interpreters, and thus make men forget the noble artificer of celestial splendor? But I repress my most just wrath against them lest they should make too much of sportive beginnings.

To return to Martin Luther; although our chief men refuted him with all their might, their wiles were not able to make him move an inch from his propositions. His sweetness in answering is remarkable, his patience in listening is incomparable, in his explanations you would recognize the acumen of Paul, not of Scotus; his answers, so brief, so wise, and drawn from the Holy Scriptures, easily made all his hearers his admirers.

On the day following I had a familiar and friendly conference with the man alone, and a supper rich with doctrine rather than with dainties. He lucidly explained whatever I might ask. He agrees with Erasmus in all things, but with this difference in his favor, that what Erasmus only insinuates he teaches openly and freely (!). Would that I had time to write you more of this. He has brought it about that at Heidelberg the ordinary textbooks have all been abolished, while the Greeks, Jerome, Augustine, and Paul are publicly taught.

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183) "James Wimpfeling of Schlettstadt (1450—November 15, 1528) matriculated at Freiburg, 1464, B. A. 1466, then to Erfurt. In 1469 he went to Heidelberg, where he studied and taught philosophy, becoming Rector in 1481. From 1484 to 1498 he was at Spires, while there writing in favor of the Immaculate Conception. The next three years he spent at Strassburg, where he wrote a history of Germany. Then he taught at Freiburg and Heidelberg until 1510, when he returned to Strassburg for five years. From 1515 till his death he lived at Schlettstadt, taking some part in opposing Luther. Smith, *l. c.* I, 81.

184) The disputation took place on April 25.

185) Peter Tartaretus (Tataretus), one of the most eminent of the later Scotists, taught at Paris 1490. Edited commentaries on Aristotle 1494, *Expositio in Summulos Petri Hispani*, etc. Smith, *l. c.* I, 81.

But you see there is no room to write more. I enclose his paradoxes and their explanations, so far as I was able to take them down during the disputation or was taught them by him afterwards. I expect you will be much pleased to see them; if not, take them in the spirit in which they are sent. . . .[186]

Others whom Luther met at Heidelberg, and who received lasting impressions from his disputation, were Mag. Johann Brenz, Erhard Schnepf, Franz Friedlieb (Irenicus), and Theobald Billicanus.[187] Soon all these men were marked by the Romanist party as friends of Luther and had to suffer persecution.

Thus a journey that had looked so threatening resulted in a splendid vindication of Luther. Rome's purposes were completely thwarted.

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11. The Return from Heidelberg.

Luther describes his home-coming in a letter to Spalatin of May 18:—

Christ being kind to me, I have returned at last to my home, and reached Wittenberg on Sunday after Ascension [May 15]. I had started out on foot and returned by wagon; for my superiors forced me to ride with the Nuernbergers almost to Wuerzburg, thence with the brethren from Erfurt, and from Erfurt with those of Eisleben, who took me at their own expense with their own horses to Wittenberg. I was well all the way, the food agreed with me remarkably, so that some think I look stronger and fatter now.[188]

The refreshing days of this journey, which proved a true Godsend to the fatigued Luther, were marred by one melancholy incident. At Heidelberg Luther had been handed a letter from his old teacher at Erfurt

186) Smith, *l. c.* I, 81 f.
187) XV, 423.
188) XV, 2392; *Erl. Brfw. l. c.* I, 191 f.; Smith, I, 84.

Trutfetter, which was written in anger at Luther's new theological position. Luther thought too highly of Trutfetter to disregard this letter. On his return from Heidelberg he had to stop at Erfurt and proposed to the brethren that he would repeat his disputation at Heidelberg to them. He believed that if the Erfurt men would only hear his Pauline theology, they would be as favorably impressed with it as the brethren at Heidelberg had been. But the monks declined his offer, alleging that their whole time during the week of Rogate Sunday was taken up with the annual processions and supplications to the cross of Jesus (which Bishop Mamercus in 452 had introduced into the Church). Failing in this, Luther called on Trutfetter, but was not received, the famulus of the doctor informing him that his master was too sick to receive visitors. But the rude action did not sour Luther's mind; he still believed that all the abuse which his old teacher had poured out in his letter to Luther came from a loving heart. Accordingly, before leaving Erfurt, he wrote Trutfetter from the convent the following letter, to a portion of which, relating to the burning of Tetzel's theses, we referred above:—

To the excellent and good Sir Jodocus of Eisenach, leading theologian and philosopher, my superior in the Lord, ever to be held in reverence.

JESUS.

Greeting in the Lord. Last night, my dear sir and reverend teacher, I was at your door, intending to speak with you and answer orally the letter which you recently sent to me. You were moved, as I clearly felt, by your great affection and anxious concern for me, which I have in no wise deserved. But your doorkeeper told me that you were not well enough to receive my visit, and I left. Therefore I now answer in writing, of course, not on all points which you have touched; I shall perhaps do this at some other time when I am more at leisure.

First, I thank you for your loving concern for me, which I have not merited, and pray you for the Lord Jesus' sake never to conceive the suspicion that I could be so greatly offended by

you as to want to put you to confusion by biting and insulting letters, which, as you write, you fear that I shall perhaps do. For such revenge I do not even practise against those who are my worst adversaries and denounce me by name from their pulpits to the people as a heretic, insane, a false guide, and as obsessed by I know not how many demons; how much less, then, shall I be able to render evil to you, to whom I owe everything good. I am, forsooth, grieved that the suspicion of such malice has cropped out in you.

Next, you are displeased with my Theses, and I suspected that you would be. However, as regards those that treat of grace and works,[189] let me tell you, dear sir, that I am not the only nor the first man to assert them. You know the bright minds of my colleagues, Carlstadt, Amsdorf, Dr. Jerome,[190] Dr. Wolfgang,[191] the two Feldkirchens,[192] lastly Dr. Lupinus.[193] Now all these firmly agree with me, yea, the entire university, excepting perhaps the one Licentiate Sebastian,[194] and even our regular superintendent and bishop;[195] besides many other prelates and all the intelligent citizens declare now with one voice that they had not known or heard Christ and the Gospel before.

It is proper that I do not place myself ahead of such geniuses, and since these men, as you know, are thoroughly trained and at home in the scholastic theology, I beg you to let me be wise or unwise with them, until the matter is decided by the Church. To explain myself further, I simply believe it to be impossible to reform the Church, unless the Canon Law, decretals, the scholastic theology, philosophy, logic, as we now have them, are thoroughly rooted out and other studies are put in their place. In this opinion I go so far as to pray the Lord every day that the pure study of the Bible and the holy fathers as far as this may be done at once, may be restored. You do not consider me a logician; perhaps I am not; but this I know that in defending my opinion I am not afraid of any man's logic.

Regarding my other theses, against indulgences, I wrote you before that I am not pleased with their being spread so largely among the people. For such a thing has never been known to happen, nor could I foresee what has happened in this single instance. Otherwise I should have expressed myself more clearly, as I did in the sermon to the people[196] with which you are more displeased than with all my theses.

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189) The theses against the scholastic theology.

190) Schurf, one of the most eager attendants at Luther's lectures.

191) Stehelin, who came to Wittenberg from Tuebingen at the opening of the university. After 1521, when he became chancellor to Duke Henry at Freiburg, he opposed the Reformation.

192) Bartholomaeus Bernhardi of Feldkirchen in Suabia, since 1518 provost of Kemberg, a prebend of the University of Wittenberg; and Johann Dolz of Feldkirchen.

193) Peter Wolff of Radhaym, with the university since its beginning, died at Wittenberg 1521, on St. Phillip and James' Day.

194) Either Sebastian Fabri or Kuechenmeister. 195) Scultetus.

196) The Sermon on Indulgence and Grace.

I adjure you, my dear sir and father in the Lord, are you not also displeased that the poor people of Christ are harassed and mocked such a long time with indulgences? Is the remission of a temporal and arbitrary penance a matter of such moment that we must allow the faith of the people to be placed in jeopardy? For, indeed, there is hardly a person who does not believe that by indulgences he obtains something great, say, the grace of God. It was good that we ourselves were the first to draw the cover from this business, lest, if we concealed the matter, the people themselves should at length have discovered this holy fraud, as it is called, or rather this most ungodly fraud of mercenary extortioners, and should have rendered to us what we deserved. I confess indeed that I could wish that there would be no indulgences at all in the Church; for even the Italians do not care for them; they only promote money-making yes, only money-making and nothing else, as I shall show at greater length in my Proofs,[197] which, God willing, shall be published immmediately.

Continuing, Luther defends himself, in the passage reproduced before, against the charge that he instigated the burning of Tetzel's theses, and says:—

Let anybody, wherever he be, talk, accept rumors, and believe about me what he pleases; for my part I shall do what the Lord gives me to do, and shall, by God's grace, neither be afraid nor become presumptuous.

As regards my defense of Mag. Johann Egranus, the pastor of Zwickau, the matter has not been correctly reported to you. He is a learned man and does not need me at all. I indeed wrote an introductory letter,[198] in which I approved his statement which had been traduced quite treacherously by the theologians of Leipzig. I could not refuse my judgment to the man when he asked for it so persistently; but if you will bear with the boldness of a pupil and a most obedient servant of yours, namely, myself, I would like to say that you are the first person from whom I learned that we are to yield faith only to the canonical writings, while we are to use all the rest critically, as the blessed Augustine, yea, Paul and John command.

Grant me the same privilege, then, in regard to the Schoolmen, which you and all have enjoyed hitherto. I want to follow them if I am better informed (than I am now) by Scripture or the fathers of the Church. I will listen to them unsupported by these authorities as far as they establish their teaching by statements of the Church. I am determined not to permit myself to be frightened out of my position either by your

197) *Probationes;* Luther refers to his *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute.* See *résumé* in Appendix.

198) The preface to Egranus's *Apologetica Responsio contra Dogmata, quae in M. Egranum a Calumniatoribus Invulgatae sunt.*

authority, which certainly is of great weight with me, or of anybody else's.

My dearest teacher, take these random jottings of mine in good part. If you care to discuss this matter in a correspondence with me, that, I assure you, will be most pleasing to me. I am prepared to receive and bear your corrections, and even if they are very harsh, I shall consider them most lenient. Do not be afraid in the least to open your mind fully to me, yea, pour out your mind without reserve. God and my conscience are my witness that I will not and cannot be bitter towards you: such is my affection for you this day. Farewell, my dear father. From our convent at Erfurt on Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis, 1518.

Your brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.[199]

This letter softened the rigid old scholastic to the extent that he did accord Luther an interview before the latter left Erfurt, but the former teacher could not forgive his pupil for having treated all his beautiful scholastic learning as rubbish. Luther relates the closing incidents of his visit at Erfurt to Spalatin in a letter of May 18:—

To the Erfurtians my theology is poison;[200] Dr. Eisenach, in particular, puts a black *theta* on all my propositions,[201] and wrote me a letter in which he accused me of ignorance in logic, to say nothing of theology.

I should have held a disputation with them also, if the litany days had not proved an obstacle. However, I had a conference with Dr. Eisenach face to face and succeeded at least in making him understand that he could not prove his own position nor disprove mine; yea, that their position is like the animal which is said to eat itself. But in vain is a story told to a deaf person; they obstinately stuck to their own little distinctions, though they confess that these are supported by no other authority than the dictates of our so-called natural reason, which in our view is nothing else than chaos merged in darkness, for we preach no other light than Christ, the true and only light.

With Dr. Usingen, who was my partner in the wagon, I conferred more than with all the rest, trying to win him over; but whether I accomplished anything, I do not know. That is what comes of growing old in wrong opinions. But the

199) XV, 410 ff. *Erl., l. c.* I, 187.

200) Luther here uses a proverbial phrase from Erasmus's *Adages*: *Bis mortem crambe*, that is: It is old cabbage served a second time and causing the guests to die of nausea.

201) That is, he condemns them. When the death penalty was voted on in court, those favoring it wrote on their ballot the initial letter of *thanatos*.

minds of our lads and of youths in general are tremendously[202] different from them, and I have a great hope that as Christ turned to the Gentiles when rejected by the Jews, so now His theology, too, which those opinionated old men reject, will pass over to the younger generation.[203]

Thus ended the journey that had been begun under grave forebodings. It yielded Luther a much-needed rest from his exacting labors; it gave him an opportunity to explain his position to an august gathering of important and rising men; it gained new friends for him; it all but brought him an ovation; and last, not least, it showed that Rome could not rely on the efficiency of its old methods and agencies.

The German Augustinians were divided into two factions, the Observants, who were strict constructionists on all rules of their order, and the Conventuals, who were more liberal in their interpretation and application of the rules. The chapter that had been held at Heidelberg was composed of Observants. When the Vicar-General of the order found that no steps had been taken at Heidelberg to suppress Luther, he turned to the Conventuals, and on August 25, 1518, wrote the following letter to the Provincial of this faction, Gerard Hecker:—[204]

You can hardly estimate what a mass of evils a certain Brother Martin Luther of our order and of the congregation of the Vicar has brought on us and our profession. Thinking himself wise, he has become the most foolish of all who were ever in our order. We had previously heard from the Reverend Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber,[205] and it has now been communicated to us by our Supreme Lord Leo X, that Luther

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202) Lit. "twice altogether," *dis dia pason*, a proverbial phrase which Erasmus adopted from Lucian.

203) Hausrath points to Luther's experience with young men like Brenz and Butzer at Heidelberg as an illustration.—XV, 2393 f.; *Erl., l. c.* I, 192 f.; Smith, *l. c.* 185.

204) Known as an Augustinian at Lippstadt in 1480, lecturer at Bologna in 1488. In 1502 he came to Erfurt, where he was Luther's teacher. He was Provincial of Thuringia and Saxony thrice. In 1521 he came out for the Reformation, going to Osnabrueck, where he lived until his death in 1536. (Smith, after Kolde and Enders.)

205) Jerome Ghinucci.

has come to such a degree not only of noxiousness, but also of most damnable heresy, that he has not feared to lecture and dispute openly against the Holy Roman Church and the Supreme Most Blessed Pontiff, and publicly to preach his false doctrine and many other propositions suitable not to a monk and a Christian as he is, but to a schismatic heretic, and to one whose name, perhaps, has been erased from the book of life. [!] Now we have warned this rebel to his profession and this enemy of the cross of Christ to desist from his cursed doings, and we have cited him to Rome, either to correct or to show reason for all that he has said against our Supreme Lord[206] and the Holy Roman Church. But as he was blind enough in his heresy to dare to lift up his face against heaven, and to rise and rebel against our Supreme Lord, so he did not fear to show his rebellious contumacy against his vow and us. Now his iniquity has multiplied, and his sin has grown to such a degree that by the command of the Supreme Pontiff Our Lord, we ought to apply opportune remedies to this contagious pestilence, and, lest he should infect and ruin others, to proceed against him as a rebel to his vow and a heretic towards the Holy Roman Church. And as we cannot be everywhere, we rely on your well-trained virtue, moderation, and probity. Therefore we command you under pain of losing all your promotions, dignities, and offices, when you receive this letter, to proceed to capture the said Brother Martin Luther, have him bound in chains, fetters, and handcuffs, and detained under strict guard in prison at the instance of our Supreme Lord Leo X. And as he belongs to that Congregation which thinks itself free from your government,[207] that he may have no way of escape, we give you in this matter all our authority, and we inform you that our Supreme Lord, the Pope, has delegated to you plenary apostolic authority to imprison, bind, and detain this man, nothwithstanding anythnig done to the contrary, all of which, in as far as concerns this business, His Holiness expressly waives. Furthermore, he grants you power of putting the interdict on all places, and of excommunicating all persons by the apostolic authority, as you will see further in the apostolic breve, and of doing all things which seem to you needful for imprisoning this scoundrel; all of this in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. [!] We command all those under us, of whatever province, congregation, title, dignity, or office,[208] to help and advise you in this matter, and not only this, but on their duty of obedience and under pain of excommunication,

206) A standing designation of the Pope.

207) "The Observants never denied the supremacy of the General, but they did refuse obedience to the Conventuals headed by Hecker." (Smith.)

208) "This was intended particularly for Staupitz, who sympathized with Luther, and had failed to make him recant at the General Chapter held at Heidelberg in May, although he had been instructed to do so by Volta.

for which, though unwillingly, in this letter we give such persons the triple warning commanded by the Canon Law, that they should obey and serve you as they would ourselves. Know that in this matter you will not only do a great favor to us and to our profession, but will also put under a great obligation our Supreme Lord Leo X, who of his own accord offers to pay you amply for it. Know also that if you accomplish this, no one in the order will in future be dearer to us than you; by this one service you will win for yourself more benefits, honors, and dignities than you could in all the rest of your life. Proceed, therefore; look to God, the inspirer of holy works, that men may recognize in you a man whose mind and heart are fit to do great deeds. The whole order will praise you for this, and we shall always be in your debt. Hereafter, our profession will always consider you as the renewer of the honor of our order and the zealous supporter of the Holy Roman Church. The thing is too important to admit delay; therefore we command you to spare no labor, to refuse no expense to get this heretic into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff. We also command you to write to us as often and as fully and as quickly as possible, whenever you have any news in this business. You will be paid to the uttermost farthing. Farewell.[209])

This letter was written at Cori, near Rome. It reveals the blind rage that had filled the Curia and the reckless measures which it was prepared to adopt to crush a man who had asked for a hearing on a disputed point of doctrine.

209) Smith, *l. c.* I, 106.

12. A Pious Delusion.

Hundreds of beaming faces greeted Luther in his lecture-hall at the university upon his return. His absence of five weeks had had a clarifying effect also on the vision of the Wittenbergers, both the university men and the citizens. They had looked at the issue which their professor had created independently of him, and realized its importance; they had begun to admire his moral courage, and they gloried in his increasing fame. The gloom that had oppressed them at first seemed to have suddenly lifted; men were breathing more freely and looking into the future more hopefully.

Luther had need of all the new vigor which the journey to Heidelberg and the pleasing incidents of the past weeks had furnished him. For as we have seen, his enemies were preparing for a powerful attack that was to crush him. Luther had no inkling that this attack had actually been ordered and was being generaled by Rome. For weeks after he had been told that sentence had been passed upon him by the Holy Father, he refused to believe these reports. He treated them as spurious, as mad inventions of his enemies' rage. McGiffert is right when he says that not until after the Leipzig Debate was Luther "emancipated once and for all from the delusion that he was in harmony with the papal Church and could remain permanently in it."[210]

210) *Martin Luther*, p. 145.

Immediately after his return the trouble which Eck and Carlstadt had stirred up for him claimed Luther's attention for a little while.[211]

But his greatest and best labor was bestowed on the most pretentious work that had so far come out of his pen, his *Resolutions,* or Proofs, for his Ninety-five Theses.[212] We have in previous chapters noted frequent allusions to this work which Luther believed he must publish in justice to himself, because his object in publishing the Theses was being grossly misinterpreted. The request of Scultetus had so far checked his ardor, and when at Eastertide the bishop had withdrawn his objection, the journey to Heidelberg had intervened. Now he carefully went over his treatise once more, and on May 30 sent the completed manuscript to Staupitz.

These *Resolutions,* of which we offer an exhaustive summary in the Appendix, should be studied with great care if a person wishes to gauge correctly the value of Luther's effort in the Theses. It is undoubtedly true that since October 31, 1517, Luther's views had become clearer and stronger on some points that are still enveloped in haze in the Theses. The unlooked-for and violent opposition which the Theses had encountered had opened Luther's eyes to the gravity of the situation. The Theses read in the light of the *Resolutions* appear indeed as "something more than simple questions for debate. Luther's heart was in them."[213] In the Theses Luther had still viewed the priest as a mediator between the repenting sinner and God; in the *Resolutions* he insists that the believer cannot be tied to any human being in the matter of his salvation, and that God for-

211) See *Leips. Debate,* p. 34 ff.
212) XVIII, 100-265. 213) Vedder, *Reform. in Germany,* p. 61.

gives sins without previous satisfaction having been rendered by the sinner through penances. The sinner's repentance is declared to be the evidence that God had begun His gracious work in him; the absolution pronounced by the priest merely confirms this fact. Luther objects to the tyranny exercised in auricular confession, where a person is forced to enumerate in detail all his sins. He declares it heretical to teach that the Sacraments are salutary *ex opere operato*, by the mere outward performance of the sacramental action, provided only the person does not raise an obstacle; for he holds that nothing can be spiritually salutary without personal faith on the part of the sinner. Luther denies that there exists such a thing as the Treasure of the Saints, that is, supererogatory merits of holy persons, because no human being can satisfy the demands of God's holy Law, much less perform virtuous works in excess of his obligation. Also the reality of purgatory is doubted in stronger terms in the *Resolutions* than in the Theses. Besides, the *Resolutions* contain direct attacks on the institution of indulgences and on Rome itself, that yawning chasm which greedily swallows up the wealth of the world. Luther declines obedience to any word of the Pope that is not supported by the Scriptures and the decrees of councils. He speaks of the stench of the great Babylon that offends the very heavens, and calls for a reform of the Church that is not to be conducted only by ecclesiastical superiors. He points to the excesses of Julius II and Alexander VI, to show what implicit submission to any pronouncement of the Popes must lead to, and declines to become a sharer in the guilt of the Popes, accumulated by their violent and tyrannous dealings with innocent people. Even to Tetzel he refers as to "that cowherd who grunts his

words" like a brute, without considering their import. These scathing charges are prefaced by a "Protestation":—

Inasmuch as this is a theological disputation, I intend herewith to reiterate the protestation which is customary in the universities, in order to quiet hearts that may have been offended by the mere text of the disputation.

In the first place, I testify that I do not intend to say or maintain anything except what is and can be maintained in and with Holy Scripture, as well as the church fathers received and hitherto recognized by the Roman Church, and in accordance with the Canon Law and the papal decretals. Any point that cannot be either established or refuted by these authorities I intend to maintain merely as a subject for disputation, in accordance with the judgment of reason and experience, without any prejudice, however, to the judgment of my superiors.

One only point I add and claim, agreeably to the privilege of Christian liberty, *viz.*, that I propose to reject or accept, as I see fit, the mere opinions of St. Thomas, Bonaventura, or other scholastics or canonists, when they have been asserted unsupported by a text of Scripture and without proof. In this I follow the counsel of St. Paul (1 Thess. 5, 21): "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," although I am aware of the opinion of certain Thomists, who claim that St. Thomas has been approved by the Church in every point. It is sufficiently known how far the authority of St. Thomas is accepted. By this protestation I believe that I have made it clear that, while I may be in error, I cannot be a heretic, no matter how much those of a different mind and inclination may rage and gnash their teeth at me.[214]

The submissive, yielding, and conciliatory tone of these words seems out of harmony with a statement like this, contained in the *Resolutions:* "The Pope is a man like the rest," and with the scathing charges which Luther raises against time-honored practices and established institutions of the Church. On the ground of this apparent self-contradiction Grisar,[215] thinks that Luther is purposely practising ambiguity, blowing hot and cold out of the same mouth, in order to deceive the unwary. This charge is best refuted, as done by Hausrath,[216] by assuming that the first part of the

214) XVIII, 100 ff. 215) *l. c.* I, 336. 216) *l. c.* I, 215.

Resolutions was written about the time of the publication of the Theses, and the work was interrupted by the journey to Heidelberg, which broadened Luther's views, deepened his convictions, raised his courage, and gave him greater self-reliance.

Vedder [217] cautions the student of the *Resolutions* to be on his "guard against an attempt to find in such a series of academic propositions a systematic and consistent doctrine of indulgences. No such character was required of them by the academic standards of the time, or is to be expected by us. Luther's was not a systematic mind; at bottom he was neither philosopher nor theologian, and at no time in his life did he show himself capable of working out a systematic and complete exposition and defense of any doctrine. We need not be astonished to find that some of the Theses are not easily reconcilable with others, or if some seem flatly to contradict others. Yet, while all this is true, it by no means follows that we have an incoherent collection of contradictory propositions." Vedder himself has been able to give a fair topical summary of Luther's unsystematic effort. The sweeping opinion which he has expressed is partly corrected by himself in this very context: the academic use to be made of the Theses required no systematic grouping of cognate and correlated materials. To this we might add that Luther's effort was prompted by his pastoral experiences, and the Theses might be checked off one by one against the impressions made on him during his conversations with his parishioners in the confessional. Partly, however, the opinion just voiced harks back to the distant theological past of the modern Protestant bodies: it was raised

217) *l. c.*, p. 46.

by the Reformed, who charged Luther with lack of logical precision, consistency, system, etc., because of his teaching on the Sacrament, the relation of subjects to their magistrates, and other points of doctrine. It is a charge that was repeated during the recent Calvin tercentenary against the entire Lutheran Church and her Confessions. In our *résumé*, however, which has to do mainly with the doctrinal contents of the *Resolutions*, we have taken the liberty of summarizing Luther's statements according to topics, not following strictly the sequence of the Theses, in order to avoid repetition.

The manuscript sent to Staupitz was accompanied by the following letter:—

I remember, Reverend Father, among the delightful and wholesome conversations I had with you, by which the Lord Jesus usually gives me wonderful comfort, that there was made mention at one time of the word "repentance" (*poenitentia*) [218] when being full of pity for so many consciences, because of those torturers who with endless and unbearable precepts teach what they call a mode of confession, I received you as one speaking from heaven when you said that repentance is not genuine except when it begins with the love of righteousness and of God, and what is considered by them the end and consummation of repentance is rather the beginning of it.

This word of yours stuck in me like the sharp arrow of the mighty,[219] and thereupon I began to compare it with the Scripture-texts teaching repentance, and, behold, I had a most pleasant enjoyment: from all sides statements began to sound in harmony to me, and plainly to smile upon and applaud your dictum, so that, while formerly there was hardly a term in the whole Bible more bitter to me than the term "repentance" (although I zealously made a pretense also before God and tried to express a feigned and forced love), now there is no word sounding sweeter and more pleasant to me than the word "repentance." For thus do the commands of God become sweet when we understand that they are not to be read in books only, but in the wounds of the sweetest Savior.

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218) Equivocations and ambiguities are created because this Latin term admits of various translations: repentance, penitence, and penance.
219) Ps. 120, 4.

After this [220] it happened that by the study and favor of learned men, who render us the great service of teaching us Greek and Hebrew, I learned that this word is called in Greek *metanoia*, from *meta* and *nous*, meaning "afterwards" and "mind," so that repentance, or *metanoia*, is "coming to one's right mind again," [221] that is comprehending your own evil, after you have suffered loss and found out your error, which cannot possibly take place without a change in your affection and love. All this agrees so well with the theology of Paul that, in my opinion at least, nothing can more aptly explain Paul's meaning.

Next, I made progress and saw that *metanoia* means not only "after" and "mind," but can also be derived from "over again" and "mind,"—though this be a violent derivation,—so that *metanoia* signifies a change of mind and affection, which seems to indicate not only the fact, but also the method of the change, that is, the grace of God. For that transition of the mind, namely, genuine repentance, is quite frequently mentioned in the Scriptures as something which the ancient passover [222] prefigured, Christ actually fulfilled, and Abraham long ago foreshadowed when he began to be called a Hebrew, that is, one who passes over, namely, after he had transferred himself to Mesopotamia,[223] as the learned Burgensis [224] teaches. This agrees also with that inscription of a psalm, where Jeduthun, that is, one who leaps over, is introduced as the singer.[225]

Sticking fast to this conclusion, I dared to think that they were wrong who attributed to works of penitence so much that they had left us almost nothing of repentance but certain formal penances and a most wearisome confession; for they were led astray by the Latin word, since "poenitentiam agere" [226] sounds as if it referred to an action rather than to a change of mind, and in no wise does justice to the Greek *metanoein*

While I was glowing with this thought, behold, suddenly a new indulgence-trumpet and remission-bugle began to blare and

220) "Luther has just been speaking of his first acquaintance with Staupitz during the dark years of the Erfurt cloister, 1505-10; it was at this time that he began to study Hebrew, on which perhaps he got some help from a Jew while he was at Rome, December, 1510. Greek he first began to learn from his friend Lang during the years 1513-16, but he is apparently referring to the study of the New Testament in Greek edited by Erasmus in March, 1516. In this letter he follows Erasmus's note to Matt. 3, 2." (Smith.)

221) "Resipiscentia;" Erasmus translates *metanoeite* "Resipiscite." (Smith.)

222) Ex. 12, 11; 1 Cor. 5, 7.

223) In his Exposition of Genesis (chap. 11, 13) Luther rejects this interpretation of the term Hebrew. I, 715.

224) Burgensis is the Jew Solomon Levita, who, after becoming a Christian, assumed the name Paul of Burgos. He was made bishop of Carthagena, Burgos, chancellor of Castile, and patriarch of Aquileia; he died August 29, 1435, at the age of eighty-five. He added glosses to the annotated Bible of Nicolaus de Lyra.

225) Ps. 39, 62, 77. On the person of Jeduthun comp. 1 Chron. 15, 6-19; 16, 41, 42; 25; 2 Chron. 5, 12; 35, 15.

226) The Vulgate's translation of *metanoein*, to repent.

clang about me, although they did not animate us with energetic zeal for the war. To be brief, setting aside the doctrine of genuine repentance, men undertook to extol so highly, not repentance, nor even its most insignificant part which is called penance, but the remission of this most insignificant part, that nothing has ever been heard magnified so much. Moreover, they taught godless, false, and heretical things with such authority (I wanted to say, temerity) that if anyone dared to mutter a word against it, he was at once devoted to the stake as a heretic and declared deserving of eternal damnation.

Being unable to meet the fury of these men, I resolved to make my dissent from them known in a modest way and to question their teachings, relying, as I did, on the opinion of all the doctors and of the whole Church, that it is better to do penance than to have a penance remitted, that is, to buy an indulgence. Nor is there one who has ever taught differently. Hence, I called for a disputation, that is, I brought down on my unhappy head the high and the low and those of the middle class, as many as these zealots for money (alas! that we cannot call them zealots for souls) could stir up against me.

This is the reason, Reverend Father, why I am now stepping forth unhappily into public view—I who always loved my little corner and chose to observe the beautiful displays of genius in our age rather than to be observed—and laughed at myself. But I see that bad cabbage must be shown together with good vegetables,[227] and that black must be placed alongside white, to set off real ornaments and graceful things.

I ask, therefore, that you will receive my boyish effort and forward it with what expedition you can to the excellent Pope Leo X, in order that it may there serve me as a sort of champion against the designs of people who intend malice against me; not that I would involve you in any danger with me; all the risk in this action I wish to take alone. Christ will see whether what I have said are His words or mine, and without His will even the Pope's speech is not at his own discretion, nor the king's heart in his own hand.[228] I look to Him as the Judge who renders His verdict through the Roman See.

As to my threatening friends, I have nothing to say in reply to them except that word of Reuchlin: A poor man fears nothing, and can lose nothing. I have no possessions, and desire none; my reputaton and honor, if I had any, are now being assiduously destroyed by my despoiler. One thing only remains: my feeble little body, exhausted by incessant discomforts; and if they destroy that by violence or cunning (to do God a service), they may make me poorer by one or two hours of life. I am satisfied to be with my sweet Redeemer and Reconciler, my Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I shall sing as long as I live.[229] If there is any one that does not want to sing with me, what is that to me?

227) *Corchorum inter olera*—a proverb. Corchorum is a mean vegetable growing wild in the Peloponnesus.
228) Prov. 21, 1. 229) Ps. 104, 33.

Let him howl for himself, if he prefers. The Lord Jesus keep you forever, my dearest father.

At Wittenberg, on Trinity Sunday.[230]

Since the *Resolutions* were to be forwarded to the Pope, Luther thought it well to accompany it with a dedicatory letter. This letter deserves careful reflection. While thoroughly devout and loyal to the Supreme Head of the Church, the letter throbs with the earnest resolve of a conscientious soul to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. The letter reads:—

To the Most Blessed Father, Pope Leo X, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes life everlasting.

I have heard a very evil report about myself, Most Blessed Father, by which I understand that certain friends have made my name exceedingly loathsome to you and yours, saying that I have made an effort to diminish the authority and power of the keys and of the Supreme Pontiff; hence I am accused of being a heretic, an apostate, a traitor, and am branded with a thousand other, yea, slanderous names. My ears are horrified and my eyes amazed, but the sole bulwark of confidence, my innocent and calm conscience, stands unshaken. For with such decorations I have been adorned even in my own country by those very honest and truthful persons, I mean by persons with a very bad conscience, who attempt to lay their own enormities to my charge, and, by putting me to shame, glorify their own shameful acts. However, deign, Most Blessed Father, to hear the actual affair from me, who am but a child and without erudition.

Recently the jubilee of papal indulgences began to be preached in our parts, and this made such headway that the heralds of the same, thinking that because of the awe which your name inspires everything was permitted to them, dared to teach most godless and heretical things to the very grave scandal and mockery of the ecclesiastical authority, as if the decretals regarding the misconduct of indulgence-preachers did not concern them. Not satisfied with having scattered their poison in most reckless terms, they published, in addition, tracts[231] and spread them among the people, in which—not to speak of their insatiable and unheard-of greed with which nearly every letter is strongly reeking—they asserted the same godless and heretical things, and so asserted them as to place the confessors under oath[232] to

230) XV, 414 ff.; *Erl., l. c.* I, 198 ff.; excerpts in Smith, *l. c.* I, 91 ff.

231) Luther refers to the *Instructio Summaria pro Subcommissariis*, etc., and to Tetzel's *Summaria Instructio Sacerdotum ad Praedicandas Indulgentias*, publ. in Kapp, *Schaupl. d. Tetzelschen Ablasskrames*, etc., 1720; p. 43 ff.

232) In the *Summary Instruction* (Kapp, *Samml.*, p. 120) at No. 1 there is a marginal note: *Confessores tenentur jurare fidelitatem*, which is expounded in the text.

inculcate these very things most faithfully and urgently upon the people. I am telling the truth, and they have no cover where to shelter themselves from this hot charge; their pamphlets are extant, and they cannot deny them. This business was prosperous, and the people were sucked dry on false pretenses and, as the prophet says: "They plucked their flesh from off their bones,"[233] while the indulgence agents themselves were living on the fat and sweetness of the land.

Their one means for quieting offended people was the awe which your name inspires, the threat of the stake and the brand of heresy. It is incredible how ready they are to utter these threats, even when they only sense contradiction to their tricks which rest on mere imagination—if, indeed, this can be called quieting offended people and not rather exciting schisms and finally uprisings by sheer tyranny.

Notwithstanding this, the gossip in the taverns about the greed of priests and derogatory remarks about the keys of the Supreme Pontiff kept growing, as the testimony of this whole country will bear me out. I confess that I became, indeed, incensed from zeal for Christ, as I believed, or if you choose, from my youthful ardor; still I did not see that it behooved me to determine or do anything in these matters.

Accordingly, I admonished some of the great men of the churches privately.[234] By some of them I was well received, while to others I appeared ridiculous, and to still others something else; for they were swayed by the awe of your name and the threat of censure. At length, when I could do nothing else, I determined to make at least a rather mild resistance to them, by calling their teachings into question and inviting them to a debate. Accordingly, I issued propositions, asking only the learned, if any chose, to discuss them with me, as must be plain even to my opponents from the preface to those theses for debate.

Behold, this is the conflagration by which they complain that the whole world is being set on fire, perhaps because they are indignant that I alone, who am a Magister of Theology by your apostolic authority, should have the right to discuss in a public school, according to the custom of all universities and of the entire Church, not only indulgence, but also divine authority, forgiveness, and indulgences, which are matters incomparably more important.

Still, I am not greatly disturbed that they envy me the privilege granted me by the authority of your Blessedness, because I am forced to concede to them, against my will, far greater privileges, *viz.*, to mix the dreams of Aristotle into the very materials of theology, and to discuss mere nonsense, contrary to, and outside of, the privilege granted to them.

Furthermore, it is a miracle to myself what providence may be urging just these theses of mine in preference to others, not

233) Micah 3, 2.

234) *E. g.*, the Archbishop of Mainz, and the Bishop of Brandenburg, the Bishops of Meissen, Zeitz (Naumburg), and Merseburg.

only of myself, but of all magisters, that they should have gone nearly into all the world. They were issued among our people and on their account; moreover, they were issued in such a form that it is incredible to me that they are understood by all; for they are theses for debate, not teachings nor dogmas; and, as is the custom, they have been put up rather in obscure style and as riddles to be solved. Otherwise, if I could have foreseen this, I should certainly have taken greater care on my part that they should be easier to understand.

Now, what am I to do? I cannot recall them, and yet I see that a great disaffection is kindled against me because of their getting out among the people. Unwillingly I come before the very precarious and divided judgment of men, I, particularly who am untrained, stupid as regards mental capacity, destitute of learning, and that, in our highly flourishing age, which by its happy progress in literature and achievements of genius could force even Cicero into a corner, who otherwise was not sluggish to come into the light of publicity. But necessity compels me, though I am a goose, to chatter among swans.[235]

In order, then, to soften my adversaries and to fulfil the desire of many persons, behold, I am now publishing my boyish product in explanation of my theses for debate. I send them forth, however, for my greater safety under the shelter of your name and in the shadow of your protection, Most Blessed Father. All who are willing can see from them with what a pure and simple mind I have been solicitous for, and have cultivated, ecclesiastical authority and reverence for the keys, and at the same time, how wicked and false my adversaries have been in befouling me with so many opprobrious names. For if I were a person such as they wish me to appear, and everything had not been treated correctly by me, on the basis of my privilege to conduct a debate, it would have been impossible for the most illustrious Prince Frederic, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Empire, etc., to permit such a pest at his university, since he is easily the one person who is most devoted to the catholic and apostolic truth; nor would I have been tolerated by my very strict and learned colleagues at our university. But I am wasting my effort, since those bland gentlemen do not shrink from soiling both the Prince and the university with the same slanders as me.

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235) This is not the courteous Chinese self-contempt which was affected by the Humanists of the age in their literary intercourse, but genuine diffidence. It is against the straightforward nature of Luther to simulate humility for effect. It appears that in these early years of his public life extreme distrust of himself seized him whenever he had to deal with a superior personage. A similar confession he utters in a letter of May 29, 1516, to the learned canon of Gotha, Mutianus Rufus. He scarcely can pluck up sufficient courage to address him "from dread of my ignorance and lack of eloquence which dissuade me from the attempt, but my affection for you prevails, and so there is sent a greeting to you, the highly learned and exceedingly cultured gentleman, by farmer Corydon (see Vergil's *Bucol, Ecl.* II, v. 56), namely, by Martin Luther, who is untrained and accustomed to chatter with the geese." (XXIa, 26.)

Wherefore, Most Blessed Father, I cast myself, with all that I am and possess, at your feet: raise me up or slay me, send me hither or thither, approve or reprove me as you please, I shall recognize your words as the words of Christ, presiding and teaching in you. If I have deserved death, I shall not refuse to die. For the earth and the fulness thereof is the Lord's, who is blessed forever. (Ps. 24, 1.) Amen. May He also keep you forever! Amen.[236]

When this letter reached Rome, the Pope had already decided Luther's case. Luther "sent his Explanations to the Pope with a serious purpose.[237] He thought they might have some effect, and that somehow he would be safer by having them as an advocate at the Roman court. He knew the Pope as little as the Pope knew him. In this case, and once in a while through life, he showed great simplicity and unconsciousness of the ways of the world. It does not appear that Leo X took his Explanations into serious consideration, either in a meeting of the Cardinals or in private thought. It is certain that matters moved on just as if Luther had made no effort to show Leo that the latter was nothing like so important a character as he took himself to be, and that a wise and pious Pope could not possibly do what at that very moment he was vigorously doing."[238] Yes, Luther acted under a pious delusion when he addressed Leo X.

The publication of the *Resolutions* was delayed chiefly by the tardiness of the printer Gruenenberg; it was not finished until the latter part of August.

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236) XV, 400; *Erl.*, l. c., I, 200 ff.; excerpts in Smith, *Life and Letters of M. L.*, p. 44 f.

237) Near the close of his life he said of this time: "In those things I verily thought that I would have the Pope as my patron; I was strongly relying on him." (Erl. Opp. Lat. v. a. I, 16.) In his polemic against Duke Henry of Brunswick he says: "I was hoping that the Pope would protect me; for I had made my disputation so secure and fortified it with Scripture and papal decretals, that I was sure the Pope would condemn Tetzel and bless me. I even dedicated my *Resolutions* to him in a humble letter, and many cardinals and bishops even were well pleased with my treatise. For at that time I was a better papist than Mainz (Archbishop Albrecht) and Heinz (Duke Henry) have ever been or will be." (XXVIII, 1361.)

238) Vedder, *l. c.*, p. 61.

13. Final Settlement of Accounts with Tetzel.

Under the delusion which had prompted him to submit his Explanation of his Theses to the Pope, Luther acted also in his polemics against the defenders of indulgences: he believed that he was doing the Pope's work.

Towards the end of May Tetzel published a Refutation of Luther's Sermon on Indulgence and Grace.[239] Luther knew of this tract June 4, for on that date he writes to Spalatin:—

> Johann Tetzel has published a tract, likewise in German, against my German sermon. It is a fine witness and herald of his ignorance! I shall add some illuminating glosses to it, that all may see what the quality of the tract is, and that it is not what Tetzel wants to have it believed to be.[240]

To Lang he writes on the same day:—

> Against my German sermon that man Tetzel has published his silly remarks. I am, in turn, getting ready my vessel in reply to him. God grant that it may not be a small jug.[241]

In the very title of his tract Tetzel calls Luther's sermon "presumptuous."[242] He culls twenty "erroneous articles" from it, with which he considers it his duty as inquisitor to deal. He reminds Luther that his heresies are the same as those for which Hus was burned at Constanz. He advances no arguments, but merely asserts that Luther has interfered with the standard teaching and practise of the Church. His Scripture-proof wherever he attempts one, is a joke. *E. g.*, in support of auricular confession and the penances imposed by

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239) See Appendix I. 240) XXIa, 101; *Erl., l. c.* I, 205.
241) XXIa, 102; *Erl., l. c.* 207. The picturesque phrase which Luther employs is from Horace (*De art. poet.* v. 2159).
239) See Appendix I. 240) XXIa, 101; *Erl., l. c.* I, 205

confessors he points to the trial in paradise, when God examined Adam in regard to his wrong-doing, and ordered him to undergo hard labor on the thorn-and-thistle-bearing earth. The absolution which Christ pronounced freely on Mary Magdalene, the adulteress, and the palsied man, without imposing penances on them, he explains by the fact that Christ possessed the *claves excellentiae,* the releasing keys of eminence, while the priests have only the *claves ministeriales,* ministering keys. Luther's claim that God forgives sins without exacting works of satisfaction from the sinner, Tetzel seeks to defeat by the example of David and other sinners, who underwent many a hardship although they had been absolved. Sneeringly he remarks that Luther may question the existence of purgatory, but he will soon find out that there is one, unless he is sent straight to hell with all who mislead Christians. Indulgences, he declares, remove not only the penances imposed by the Church, but also the divine punishment for sin; for so the Church teaches. Luther's counsel: Lazy Christians may buy indulgences, but the godly will rather do the works of charity commanded by God. Tetzel disposes of by saying that it is just the godly who are buying indulgences, and these aid in many a good work by so doing, for they help to defend the doctrine of the cross against infidels, to build bridges, repair roads, etc. For that reason the purchase of indulgences is not only permitted, but even commended. It is to be preferred to giving alms; for the latter are only a slow way for accumulating merit, while by indulgences a person secures in a trice release from all guilt.

When Luther wrote to Spalatin, he had already begun his reply to Tetzel. He called it "Ein' Freiheit des Sermons paebstlichen Ablass und Gnade belangend,"

that is, *Vindication of My Sermon on Papal Indulgences and Grace*. In this tract Luther does not mince words. He begins:—

I, Dr. Martin Luther, Augustinian at Wittenberg, acknowledge that the German sermon on Grace and Indulgence is by me. Accordingly, I am moved and placed under the necessity of vindicating the same against certain refutations, or traductions, that have been invented against it. If I consider the ability of the person who has invented them, it seems to me that the author had too much time and paper which he did not know how to employ for a better purpose than to attack the truth with nasty words, and was itching to let people know his utter ignorance of the Scriptures.

Not to be prolix, I pass over and give to the winds (which also have more leisure) like poppy-flowers and dry leaves all the useless words which he has wasted, and take up only the arguments and corner-stones of his building of brambles.[243]

Not by the scholastics and all who simply say yes to all their assertions, but by the Scriptures he is going to test Tetzel's arguments. He is not surprised that people like Tetzel who are brewing into one concoction the Scriptures, the fathers, the scholastics and their obedient slaves, and their own rash deductions, produce a horrible mess. Luther would preserve his equanimity and would not become angry at Tetzel, if the latter were only to call him a heretic, an apostate, a perverse speaker, and anything he might please; but he cannot suffer him to rummage in the Scriptures, our whole solace, like a sow in a bag of oats. Also from the fathers Tetzel has wrested citations altogether out of their context, and has dragged in arguments by the hair, that the fathers' ribs are cracking. Any person who, like Tetzel, will grant immunity from a moral obligation to a person buying an indulgence will be ready to grant dispensation from the practise of every virtue. Even laymen show a better understanding when they say: "The best

243) XVIII, 296.

kind of repentance is not to repeat your offense." [244] Christ did not say to Peter: "Whatsoever I shall bind, thou shalt loose," but: "Whatsoever thou shalt loose that shall be loosed," provided it was loosed in accordance with God's will. Any teaching contrary to this is piffle, and Tetzel's keys of excellence, keys of authority, ministering keys, are only keys to people's money-chests, which serve for emptying purses and safes, open hell and lock heaven. Tetzel's appeal to his prompter Wimpina, who had inspired him with this piece of wisdom that it is better to buy indulgences than to help the poor, roused Luther's strongest indignation: "God have mercy on us!" he exclaims. "These men claim to be teachers of Christians! John says: 'Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' [245] Tetzel, however, proclaims that you must first buy indulgences, for charity begins at home. If God were not truly God, he would long ago have commanded the earth to swallow up such theologians!" Tetzel had also pointed to the famous shrines at Rome at which a priest by celebrating mass may obtain abundant indulgences. "That is so," says Luther; "some in Rome believe that; and I myself have read more than one mass in that city for souls in purgatory. But I have repented of my credulity, because there are poor supports for these claims, and the Romans themselves do not regard them much." Tetzel had tried to prove that there is a release from purgatory by citing the text: "What thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." [246] Luther points out to him that the text refers to what is happening in heaven and on earth;

244) "Nimmer tun ist die hoechste Busse." (XVIII, 300.)
245) 1 John 3, 17.
246) Matt. 16, 19.

but the souls in purgatory are neither in heaven nor on earth. At last, Luther finds, Tetzel has grown tired of tormenting the Scriptures, or perhaps he has exhausted his stock of learning. But he is not done: now he rushes at Luther with thunder and lightning, branding him an arch-heretic, heretic, apostate, errorist, sacrilegious person, etc. Luther replies: "God have mercy on me and you!" He informs Tetzel that he has no idea what a heretic is; accordingly, his whole attack has had the same effect on him as if an ass had brayed at him. He cannot prevent him from declaiming in pectoral tones of solemn conviction that he has the power of putting Luther in the stocks, in prison, of drowning and burning him, but he offers him the humble advise to stick to his wine-cup and use such fires as he kindled in front of the church at Jueterbogk for roasting geese, because that is an art for which he is better trained. Luther declares that the question under discussion really is a question of church-discipline and not necessarily a question of faith. But since his opponent is so full of zeal in behalf of God, and so sick with love of God that he will even burn men as heretics for matters that are not heretical, Luther challenges him to a public debate: "Here I am at Wittenberg, Dr. Martin Luther, Augustinian. If there is anywhere an inquisitor who thinks he can eat iron and split rocks, let him know that he will be furnished a safe-conduct by the gracious promise of our Christian Prince, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony; he will find the city gates open, and lodging and board that will cost him nothing." Luther thinks that he will be able to manage his part of the debate: he does not need a dose of nasturtium to make him smell, for his nose is not clogged; and while he does not claim to be able to fly as high as tall spruce trees, he thinks he can skim along the ground over

dry stubbles. He has been waiting nearly a year for some doughty disputant to meet him in open debate on his Theses, but no one has appeared. Finally, Luther does not wish to contradict what Tetzel has said about the infallibility of the Pope, which he regards as, in the main, correct; but Tetzel should not have made his theses read: "Christians should be taught that," etc., but: "The indulgence-sellers are to say," etc. Otherwise the coins will not chink in the chest. Luther's *Ceterum censeo* is: To skin the poor people is to dishonor the Church and the Sacraments, and to scandalize Christians. May God take pity on the truth, for no one else does. *Amen.*

This is Luther's last word to Tetzel; after this he pays no further attention to him. On July 10 he writes to Lang:—

> Those trifles of mine which I published in a rather poor form against my Timon[247] are out in a second edition and are spread far and wide, which I would rather not see, because in this matter I have yielded too much to the urging of my friends, although I have not satisfied them either. Others attribute it to my impatience, although I meant it rather in sport than in anger.[248]

The people were fairly devouring these polemical tracts of Luther. Nor was it only the subjects discussed in them that made these writings popular, but the new method which Luther adopted in remonstrating against oppressive measures. As a rule, criticism directed against persons of prominence in the Church had been couched in very submissive, deferential, and apologetic language. In his tracts Luther spoke the plain frank language of a sturdy German, called men and things by their right names, and showed the happy unconcern of a

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247) Luther compares Tetzel to the Athenian cynic, the contemporary of Aristophanes; he was notorious as a misanthrope, and his name was proverbial as that of a morose old man.

248) XV, 2376 f.; *Erl. l. c.* I, 211; Smith, *l. c.* I, 97.

fearless mind. With every such tract Luther became more distinctly not only the people's champion because he fought for their interests, but also the people's man because he spoke their mind in language that they could understand.

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14. An Old Warrior to the Rescue.

Luther's Theses gave the Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome no rest. Many reasons conspired to call Silvester Prierias into the arena against Luther. He was a Dominican who felt that in attacking Tetzel and the sale of indulgences Luther had insulted his order. In the Reuchlian controversy Prierias had been the only papal commissioner who voted for the condemnation of the Hebraist. The defeat which he had suffered on that occasion was still rankling in him and spurred him on to still greater zeal now. His official relation to the Pope furnished another reason. While the Master of the Sacred Palace was originally the instructor of the papal household, he had in the course of time become the Pope's private adviser. When Luther's Theses had been forwarded to Rome by the Archbishop of Mainz, the Pope had asked Prierias to prepare a theological opinion on them, with the result which has been noted in a previous chapter. Furthermore, the Master of the Sacred Palace was the papal censor of all books that were to be published within the Roman Church. As inquisitor and judge of all matters relating to the faith, Prierias felt that he must take official cognizance of Luther's Theses. This all the more because Luther had attacked

a business from which the papal household derived considerable revenues. Moreover, Luther had raised his hand against two cherished idols of Prierias: first, his adored master St. Thomas, in the study of whose writings Prierias had spent his life; he may be called the ranking expounder of Aquinas in his age; secondly, his master's pet dogma of papal absolutism. Thomas and the Thomists were the earliest advocates of papal infallibility. Quite recently they had achieved a notable triumph; the Lateran Council, reluctantly convened by Pope Julius II to devise ways and means for a reform of the Church, had been disbanded by Leo X in the preceding year. Although composed almost entirely of Italian bishops dependent on the Curia, this council had assumed to act as a body representing the entire Christian Church. For a true reform of the Church it had done nothing, but it had made the existing evils worse by handing over to the Pope the sacred rights for which such hot contests had been waged for a hundred years ever since the councils of Constanz, Basle, and Pisa, the superiority of Christian ecumenical councils over the authority of the Pope. The Lateran Council had made a devout offering of these rights to the Pope by proclaiming him "the lord of the entire world" and "the other god on earth." Prierias had acted a leading part in the achievement of this triumph. Last, not least, although Prierias was now an old man of sixty years, a little vanity may have entered into his desire to become the champion of Rome against Luther. He did not like to see his report to the Pope on the Theses lie buried in the archives of the Curia; it must be given to the world as a monument of the author's learning and holy zeal. In the second half of June, 1518, therefore, he published exceptions to Luther's Theses,

under the title: *Dialog of Silvester Prierias on the Authority of the Pope.*[249]

He called it a *Dialog* because, somewhat after the manner of Eck's *Obelisks,* he cited Luther's Theses one by one and adds his gloss, marking each thesis with the rubric "Martin," and each gloss with the rubric "Silvester." But why does he call it a *Dialog on the Authority of the Pope?* Because, like all the other Dominican critics of Luther, he interprets the Theses as an assault on papal supremacy, and because he intends to defeat Luther's argument at one stroke by an appeal to that supremacy. Accordingly, he has prefaced his whole treatise, not only with letters dedicatory to the Pope and to Luther, but also with four paragraphs which he introduces as fundamental principles for his argument. We offer this part of the treatise entire:—

To the Most Holy Father Leo X, Brother Silvester Prierias, of the order of Preaching Friars and Master of the Sacred Palace, wishes grace forever!

I know not, Most Holy Father, whether anything ever affords me greater delight than when I can do something that has some relation or is pleasing to Your Holiness. That has been the reason, I believe, why I could not remain attached with such ardor to the commentaries on the first part of the second collection gathered from St. Thomas, in the publication as well as the elaboration and completion of which I was merged rather than engaged; I had to lay aside and push into the background all my labors and private meditations in order to meet one Martin Luther, whatever sort of man that may be, who in defiance of truth itself and this Holy See holds his head high, to oppose myself to him as a shield of defense, and to fight for the honor and majesty of this See and the truth. At last I have in three days which I devoted to this work completed it with such alacrity and in such a cheerful spirit that love itself must have suggested to me the truth spontaneously, and must have caused me continually and very promptly to perceive it.

I pray Your Holiness, burdened though you are with such great tasks and distracting cares, not to refuse reading my little effort, and either to correct or entirely erase what according to your gracious judgment has been stated ineptly. For in that way I shall obtain such confidence as if I had been supplied with

249) VIII, 310-345.

a fine coat of mail, so that in the impending conflict I shall not even be afraid of Satan. Yea, I shall be eager to learn whether this Martin has a nose of iron or a head of brass that cannot be smashed. God willing, I shall set afoot something greater and more carefully elaborated than this as soon as he has published his proofs, if he should try to defend his theses and refute mine. May eternal happiness be yours, Most Gracious Shepherd!

To the Professor of the Sacred Scriptures, Martin Luther, Brother Silvester Prierias, of the order of Preaching Friars, wishes the spirit of humility and truth.

My dear Martin, because of the long time intervening I have become unaccustomed to conducting scientific battles, for in the dullness of age the weakened powers are beginning to grow chill. Still I have been roused and almost driven by your words of challenge, with which like a second Dares [250] you are calling combatants from everywhere into the lists, to the resolution of entering into the arena to which I am no longer accustomed, in behalf of the Holy Apostolic See and in defense of the truth.

However, since I have not been privileged to examine on what grounds the treatise is based which you are reported to have published, and since you have offered no proof for your theses, and several of them contain both a true and a false meaning, my intention is to argue with you in particular only by maintaining and defending the position contrary to your false theses, in order to make you explain on what grounds you are basing your claims. Thus, having called upon God the Most High and Best, I now begin to examine and weigh these propositions of yours in the form of a dialog in which we, the opponents, are engaging in a conversation. Farewell, and reconsider your position.

Rejoinder to the Theses of Magister Martin Luther by Magister Silvester Prierias, of the order of Preaching Friars and Master of the Sacred Palace.[250a]

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250) The reference is to Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 362 ff., where precocious young Dares challenges any warrior to meet him in single combat, and is defeated by the aged Entellus.

250a) The Jena Edition of Luther's Works prefaces this *Dialog* with the following words: "Christian Reader: We have inserted in this work this and the following writings of this Silvester and other champions of Antichrist, to the end that our descendants might have a testimony of the teaching which was offered our unhappy people under the papacy, when the Gospel of Christ was neglected and completely buried, and in order that you may see that it was for most righteous and compelling reasons that Luther, as the first before all others in our age, was raised up and urged by God to rebuke the horrible and execrable abominations of the papacy and to bring to light, as far as God permitted, the old pure doctrine of the Church. For this greatest of all blessings praise and glory be to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ forevermore. Amen."

My dear Martin, if I am to sift your teaching most accurately, I have to lay down a rule and some fundamental principles.

The first principle is:

The Church universal is in its essence the gathering for divine worship of all who believe in Christ. However, the Church universal is virtually the Roman Church, the head of all the churches, and the Pope. As regards its representation, the Roman Church is the college of cardinals; virtually, however, it is the Pope, who is the head of the Church, though in a manner different from Christ.

The second principle:

As the Church universal, when rendering a decision on faith and morals, cannot err, neither can a true council err when it does all in its power to ascertain the truth (this is to be understood so as to include its head); or if it possibly erred at first, while the investigation of the truth was still going on, still in the end it has recognized the truth through the Holy Spirit so neither the Roman Church nor the Pope can err when, acting as Pope, he renders a decision, that is, when by virtue of his office he makes a pronouncement and does what he can to know the truth.

The third principle:

Every person who does not hold fast the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Roman Pope as the infallible rule of faith, from which Holy Scripture itself derives its power and validity, is a heretic.

The fourth principle:

The Roman Church, both by word and act, can render a decision regarding faith and morals. And there is no difference whether she does this either way, except that words are more convenient than acts. For this reason an established custom has obtained the force of a law; for the will of a ruler is expressed by acts, either when he permits something to be done, or when he does it himself. Consequently, as he is a heretic who holds a bad opinion regarding a truth of Scripture, so he, too, is a heretic who holds a bad opinion regarding the doctrine and actions of the Church that relate to faith and morals.

Conclusion:

Any person who declares in regard to indulgences that the Roman Church cannot do what it is actually doing, is a heretic.

Up now, Martin, and lead forth your theses. (Of course, to have them dispatched quickly under the quadruple action of this guillotine!) [251]

The insulting personal references to Luther in this preamble are aggravated in the body of the *Dialog* by such remarks as these: Luther makes the impression of

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251) XVIII, 310-315.

a leper whose skin is constantly assuming a different hue; he must have a dog for his father, because to bark and bite seem to be inborn traits in him; if the Pope had only assigned him a fat bishopric, he would now be overflowing with praise of the indulgences. With the undisguised contempt which high Italian church officials were in the habit of showing to a German, he hurls scornful names at Luther: heretic, arch-heretic, reprobate, devil, ignoramus, blasphemer, son of a dog, and repeatedly threatens him with the stake, if he will not recant and abjure his heresy. As an argument the *Dialog* is absolutely worthless; it is nothing but a peremptory demand to yield to might, to submit to the sovereignty of the Pope. Sforza Pallavicini and Paolo Sarpi [252] admit that Prierias's refutation of Luther by a brutal application of a power which the Church even in those days was not yet prepared to grant the Pope, was a miserable effort. Scheurl in a letter to Luther of December 20, 1518, reports that the Pope himself had expressed his disgust at the puerile production of his doting prefect, and had told him that instead of three days, as he bragged, he should have devoted three months to the refutation. Erasmus writes to Cardinal Campeggi: "I find that what Silvester has written against Luther is not approved by any one, except such as are Luther's sworn enemies." [253]

Luther himself attempts a pun on the name Silvester[254] and calls the *Dialog* "a true wildwood performance and altogether unmannered." He does this in a letter to Spalatin of August 8, in which he informs his friend that he is writing an answer to the *Dialog*, which

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252) Each in his *History of the Council of Trent* (lib. I, c. 6, No. 3, p. 9, and lib. I, p. 9 f.).
253) XVIII, Einl., 18 f. 254) Connecting it with *silva*, forest.

Spalatin is to receive as soon as it is published.[255] He must have received the *Dialog* about the end of June. On August 21 he writes Spalatin:—

I am sending you the Explanation (Resolutions) of my Theses, but they are full of printer's errors, caused by my absence.[256] My answer to Silvester's *Dialog*, together with the same, is being printed at Leipzig,[257] and I shall send it shortly.[258]

He sent the reply August 31.[259]

Luther's first impression when he saw the title page of the *Dialog*, with the papal arms imprinted on it, and the words "sacri palatii magister" after the author's name, was one of terror. "Oh, what will come of this?" he groaned. "Now the matter is come up before the Pope!"[260] When he read Prierias's appeal to the sovereignty of the Pope, he trembled. Twenty years later he told the guests at his table:—

Silvester Prierias, the Master of the Sacred Palace, wanted to terrify me by hurling at me this thunderbolt: "Any person questioning a word or work of the Roman Church is a heretic." At that time I was still weak. I did not mean to attack the Pope. Such reasoning I respected.[261]

But when he had read the entire treatise, he says, God graciously gave him the courage to laugh at the blather of this "sophist from the woods and the heather."[262] He feels as if he is talking with a buffoon in this *Dialog*.

The introductory remarks of Luther's answer are as follows:—

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Silvester Prierias, of the order of Preaching Friars, the far-famed professor of sacred theology, Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes eternal salvation in Christ.

There has come to me, reverend father, that *Dialog* of yours, which is quite overbearing and thoroughly Italian and Thomistic. In the same you are gossiping that, although you are already an old man, done with fighting, you are nevertheless roused afresh

255) XV, 430; *Erl., l. c.* I, 214; Smith, *l. c.* I, 101.
256) At Heidelberg.
257) By Melchior Lotther.
258) XV, 433; *Erl., l. c.*, I, 219.
259) XXIa, 599.
260) Hausrath, *l. c.*, I, 227.
261) XXII, 1363.
262) XXIa, 106.

to a combat by my words. You say that you are getting ready for an unlooked-for triumph like that of the famous Entellus over Dares (meaning me), unless you are by your very action impersonating Dares rather than Entellus, because you boast before you are safe, and, as the people say, claim praise before your victory.[263] Well, then; do what you can; the Lord's will be done. Farewell.

I pass over your principles, the meaning of which I guess rather than understand, and following your example and precedent I, too, must lay down principles.

My first is the passage of St. Paul: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess. 5, 21); likewise Gal. 1, 8: "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel to you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

My second is the passage in St. Augustine's letter to Jerome: "I have learned to show only to those books which are called canonical the honor to believe with firm confidence that none of its authors has erred. The rest, however, even though they are distinguished for learning and great holiness, I do not believe true, merely for the reason that they have held this opinion."[264]

My third is the declaration in the Clementine Decretals, on Penitence and Remission, cap. *Abusionnibus:* "The commissioners of indulgence are not permitted to preach to the people anything else than what is contained in their instructions," that is, as you say, what the Church is actually doing.

If you understand me, you will understand also that by my principles your entire *Dialog* is completely overthrown. For in your whole conglomeration of words you produce nothing but words, or, at best, are grinding out from your organ the mere opinions of St. Thomas, who, like you, deals only in words, without Scripture, without the fathers, without the canons, yea, to sum up, without any proofs whatsoever. In accordance with my right, therefore, that is, with my Christian liberty, I reject and deny both you and him at the same time. Yea, I am compelled to do this by the testimony in my first and third principle, and the example of St. Augustine, too, in the second principle moves me to do this. For if in jurisprudence the rule applies: "It is a disgrace for a jurist to speak without a text," reflect how much honor speaking without a text brings to a theologian who is under a special obligation in this respect, because the apostle commands him to have his "feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel,"[265] and says to a bishop that he must be able, not by human conclusions and opinions, but by sound doctrine,[266] which means, of course, that which in another place he calls

263) This is a saying from Erasmus's *Adages.*
264) From *Epist.* 82; repeated in *Epist.* 148, to Fortunatus.
265) Eph. 6, 15. 266) Titus 1, 9.

"inspired by God." [267] If this advice had been heeded, the Church would now hear less of useless questions nad opinions and more of the Gospel and Christian truth.

Let us now proceed to our business and at once receive our sentence.

Luther concludes his answer with these words:—

Here you have my answer, reverend father, which is quite hasty, having been completed in two days; for your objections appeared to me very trifling; therefore I answered them *ex tempore* with whatever came uppermost in my mind. If after this you wish to hit back, be careful to bring your Aquinas better armed into the arena, lest perchance you be not treated as gently again as you are in this encounter. I have forborne to render evil for evil. Farewell. [268]

While writing this answer, Luther had indeed restrained his just anger, out of respect for the hoary head whom he was addressing, and who was, moreover, the Pope's confessor. "I do not like to exchange revelings with you," he says to the spiteful and wrathy old man. The *Dialog* he considers much more stupid than anything that his adversaries in Germany have written against him. This now was the great Prierias, famed and feared throughout Germany, who in dealing with the profoundest issues of the inner life of Christians had revealed only the shallowness of the Italian. Such things as difficulties in exegesis, dogmatic scruples, questions of conscience do not exist for him; with him everything is a question of authority, that is, of power and force. Whatever the Church (read Pope) does, is *eo ipso* right. Standing on this high ground, he endorses everything that Tetzel has done: Tetzel has preached, not dreams of men, but the pure Catholic doctrine. His oratorical exaggerations are only a strong condiment which he has added to the heavenly food which he purveys to the dear people. As to that scandalous reference to a possible

267) 2 Tim. 3, 16.

268) XVIII, 344-410; excerpts in *Erl., l. c.*, I, 217, and Smith, *l. c.*, I, 101.

violation of the Madonna, why, it is simply a fact that such an act, too, could be remitted, yea, Judas could have obtained remission for his treachery, if he had purchased an indulgence. When Tetzel read this, he must have said to himself: What a fool I was to go to Halle to obtain affidavits that I had not said all those things! And all those dense German Dominicans who had thought a defense or an apology of their brother Tetzel for what he had said necessary, what egregious asses they must have appeared to themselves! Luther noticed the contradiction, and gently hinted that there must be a German St. Thomas and an Italian one, and he is at a loss to tell which is the genuine one whom he must attack. Luther's contention that the life of a Christian must be a continuous repentance Prierias, with the typical Italian levity, had declared an utter impossibility; he regards it even as physically impossible; for must not a person *sleep* some time while he lives? Luther replies that the apostle says: "He that eateth, eateth unto the Lord;" [269] hence also our sleeping is unto the Lord; yea, God performs His wonderful work in man's soul when he is quiet. Luther remembers that in Italy they are not very strict about their penitence, and grant fabulous indulgences for merely looking at celebrated shrines, as at San Sebastiano, San Lorenzo, Santa Pudentiana. He had been there and seen all. He had heard the Romans say that by the gracious virtues of the keys a person's attrition, that is, the shadow of a thought flitting through a person's mind that he might wish that he could feel remorse over his sins, could be made to pass for a genuine and complete contrition. But he remembers also that this is not the old orthodox teaching; for Augustine has declared contrition itself a work

269) Rom. 14, 6.

of God, and has said: The desire for grace is the beginning of grace; and: Wishing to be righteous is in itself a great part of righteousness.[270]

The sneering remark of Prierias that Luther might have been bribed with a sinecure is disposed of thus: "It is possible, reverend father, that you are judging me by your own principles." He assures Prierias that he knows how good things can be obtained at Rome, and that he also knows what happens to those who oppose Rome. The claim of Prierias that the revenues from the indulgence traffic are to build St. Peter's Cathedral contains little comfort, says Luther. Emperor Maximilian, and the Germans in general, are tired of footing the building accounts of grandeur-loving Romans and feeding so many saintly gourmands. He does not wish to lay this to the charge of Leo X, whom he considers innocent and often in danger of his life on that account, as Daniel was at Babylon (!), but the Pope's innocence cannot palliate the guilt of his courtesans. Prierias has called him the offspring of a cur: Luther thinks that it must be a very meek and venerable sire who can say such a thing. But: "What of it?" he exclaims; "I have bitten the truth free!" Prierias has threatened him with excommunication. Luther says: No ban hurled at him for defending the truth will separate him from Christ's holy people, the true Church. "I shall prefer being cursed and reprobated to being blessed and praised by you and such as you. I have nothing to lose. If I perish, I perish unto the Lord. Find some one else whom you can scare."

In a brief "Replica"[271] Prierias answered Luther in the early part of November, 1518. Luther had it at

270) "Das Verlangen nach Gnade ist der Anfang der Gnade." "Gerecht sein wollen ist ein grosser Teil der Gerechtigkeit." XVIII, 376.
271) XVIII, 412-423.

Leipzig January 7, 1519; for from there he sent it to Spalatin. It is a document of such mental impotence that Luther's colleagues held that he ought not to reply to it. In the "Replica" Prierias has changed his tactics: he now assumes the air of a benevolent and generous patron to Luther, and blandly commends the latter for having shown signs of returning sanity and a love for the truth because—because Luther has revealed some respect for the Pope! His remarks in the *Dialog* that Luther was ripe for the stake he says were meant as a joke. In a letter to Scheurl of January 13, 1519, Luther calls the "Replica" "childish and womanish."[272] With a few pitying remarks on the title page as a preface Luther had the "Replica" reprinted at Wittenberg.[273]

Months of silence ensued after this reply, and rumors began to circulate that the Pope had ordered Brother Cyprian of Paris in the place of Prierias to answer Luther. But Prierias did publish an extensive treatise on Luther's errors, which appeared in January, 1521. Luther did not receive it until April, 1521, when he was about to start for Worms. It was being sold at Worms while Luther was there. An Epitome of this work, containing the chapter-headings and axiomatic statements compiled from its contents, reached Luther in June, 1520. He annotated it and republished it with a brief prolog and epilog at Wittenberg as the best vindication of his own charges against Rome. This prolog will claim our attention near the end of this book.

272) XXIa, 138.
273) XVIII, Einl., 19.

15. Gathering Clouds.

While resolutely standing his ground against his adversaries, Luther did not conceal from himself the increasing precariousness of his situation. We have had glimpses in previous chapters of his calm anticipation of the worst that might happen to him. His was not the courage of the reckless fanatic, who is driven to the precipice by his own passion, but the clear-eyed firmness begotten of solid convictions that steel the heart of the champion to do or die against all odds. Luther saw the tempest gathering about his head; his followers, too, were made to realize that his ruin would involve them. Already in his Lenten sermons during 1518 he had thought it necessary to speak out in the pulpit against the wanton threats of excommunication which the commissaries of indulgence were employing freely in an effort to intimidate the laymen. Scultetus had trained the clergy in his diocese to a prompt use of this means of repression whenever they met with obstinacy among their parishioners. In the sermon from John 9, on Wednesday after Laetare, Luther had urged upon his hearers submission to crosses and trials which God imposes like that which the person born blind had to bear. Such crosses he called true shrines and sanctuaries at which we are to worship the holy will of God, and thus these crosses become a heavenly benediction and bring blessing to us greater than any that we imagine we obtain when kneeling before the bone of a saint set in gold and embossed with diamonds.

Nowadays, however, we see—he continued—that our bishops and leaders are fleeing from this sanctuary. If any one takes anything from them, or speaks frankly to them, they grow so angry that they upset everything, and will not yield a point. This childish form of devoutness and reverence has gone so far that they are employing excommunications as a sport, and their little letters of excommunication even for a trifling affair are darting about us like bats. They defend their practise by saying: It is proper that we protect and guard the patrimony and heritage of St. Peter; [274] we are acting in behalf of righteousness. Oh, Thou poor Christ! Oh, thou miserable Peter! If thou hast no better heritage than wood, stones, silver, and gold, thou art of all men the most beggarly! [275]

At some future time Luther promised his hearers that he would preach them a sermon on the power and effect of excommunication.

This sermon was preached soon after his return from Heidelberg.[276] It was published between August 21 and 31. Luther says in the preface that he wrote it down from memory. After referring in the introduction to the promise he had made the congregation, he explains to them that excommunication, or expulsion from the community of believers, is of two kinds, because communion with believers is either internal, spiritual, consisting in the unity of faith, love, and hope, or external, physical, consisting in sacramental fellowship and, in general, in participation in the acts of worship and in social relations with church-members. The former communion can neither be established nor abrogated by any creature; God alone receives or dismisses a soul from fellowship with Himself. (Comp. Rom. 8, 35-39.) Hence, the ban of the Church can deprive a person only of his external fellowship with the Church; but as long as a person abides in faith, hope, and love, he is not deprived of the spiritual treasures of the Church. If the Church is

274) The Roman See, or the papacy. 275) XII, 1311.
276) Koestlin even suggests that it was preached from the Gospel for Sunday Exaudi, May 16, which would be the day after his return.

to excommunicate a person properly, it must first establish the fact that the person has been excommunicated by God. Ecclesiastical excommunication does not effect spiritual excommunication, but presupposes it, and is meant as a solemn testimony that the latter has taken place. If a person is excommunicated for something that is not a sin, or even for something that is right, he is not in a state of condemnation, but of salvation. To be thus excommunicated is the noblest merit that a Christian can obtain, and he must by no means yield his righteous position for which he has been excommunicated. Thus Luther conditions also a person's membership in a local congregation entirely on his relation to divine grace, or faith.[277]

From a letter to Link dated July 10 we obtain another glimpse of Luther's mind at this time:—

Our vicar, Johann Lang, who is here today, says that he has been warned in a letter by Count Albrecht of Mansfeld on no account to permit me to go outside of Wittenberg. For snares have been laid by I know not what great men either to throttle me or drown me. I am plainly, as Jeremiah says,[278] that man of strife and contention; for I daily irritate the Pharisees with what they call new doctrines. But as I am conscious of teaching only the purest theology, I have long foreseen that my preaching would be a stumbling-block to the holy Jews and foolishness to the wise Greeks.[279]

But I hope that I may be a debtor to Jesus Christ, who perhaps is saying to me also: "I will show him how much he must suffer for My name's sake."[280] For if He does not say this, why has He placed me in this office of the Word which is unyielding? Or why does He not teach something else that I might preach? His holy will be done. The more they threaten, the more confident I am: my wife and children are provided for, my farm, house, and all my substance has been set in order; my name and fame are torn to shreds; one thing only is left: a frail and broken little body; and if they deprive me of that, they may perhaps shorten my life by an hour or two, but they will not carry off my soul. I sing with Johann Reuchlin: A poor man fears nothing, for he can lose nothing, but cheerfully sits hoping to get something.

277) XIX, 874-883.
278) Jer. 15, 10.
279) 1 Cor. 1, 23.
280) Acts 9, 16.

I know that since the beginning of the world the Word of Christ has this peculiarity, that the person who wants to spread it in the world must with the apostles leave and renounce everything and expect death any moment. If this were not so, it would not be the Word of Christ: it was bought at the price of dying, it was spread among the people by many deaths, it has been maintained by many deaths; by many deaths it must still be preserved and restored. For in this way our Bridgegroom is a "bloody husband" to us.[281] Accordingly, pray that the Lord Jesus may increase and keep up this spirit in his believing sinner.

Recently I delivered a sermon before the people on the power of excommunication, in which I incidentally rebuked the tyranny and ignorance of the filthy rabble of officials, commissaries, and vicars. All are expressing their surprise and say that they never heard anything like it before. Now we are all waiting to see what new calamity is coming; I have kindled a new fire. But that is the way of the Word of Truth, the sign that is spoken against. I was just planning to take up the subject (of the aforementioned sermon) in a public disputation, but lo! the rumor that I intended to do this stirred up quite a number of great men to such an extent that the Bishop of Brandenburg sent me a noble messenger and demanded that I postpone this disputation, which I have done, and am still refraining from it because my friends advise the same. What a terrible man I must be, since even my purposes are deemed intolerable!

Dr. Eisenach has sent me a letter brimful of great zeal (for by that name we must dignify the man's passionate outbursts), a letter much more bitter than the one which you heard read at the chapter.[282] He said the same things to me when I spoke with him face to face at Erfurt. These men are goaded to madness when we tell them that they must become fools in Christ, and that our magisters, famed throughout the world, must be declared to have been in error this long time. I don't care a fig for all fools and criticasters, if only Christ is a propitious God to me, to whom I am ready to cede the office of the Word.[283]

The visit of Lang to which Luther refers in this letter was for the purpose of taking Luther along to Leipzig and Dresden, where Lang wished to hold his first visitation as Luther's successor in the office of Rural Vicar. It was on this journey that Luther discovered a spy listening behind the door while he was a guest at a social gathering. On this journey, too, it was that he preached the sermon on St. James' Day at the Duke's castle, that was so grossly distorted afterwards.[284]

281) Ex. 4, 25. 282) At Heidelberg.
283) XV, 2376 ff, *Erl., l. c.* I, 212; Smith, l. c., I, 98 (*in excerpts*).
284) See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 48 f.

16. A Ray of Sunshine.

A worse blow, we know, had already been prepared against Luther; but before relating this, we must note a very happy event. Amidst his increasing controversies Luther's chief concern ever was the prosperity and upbuilding of the university. We noted before that he hoped for no improvement in the state of the Church from the old leaders; his prospects of success were based on the coming generation of theologians, whom he might train for better work. To make this training as efficient as possible, he must not only win over his colleagues to his views, but also increase the educational facilities of the school. In the former effort he had quite succeeded, as his letter to Trutfetter of May 9 shows. But the lack of a sufficient teaching force, due to limited funds, the equipment for new courses, textbooks, adequate gradings for degrees, the crowding of lectures, etc. (cf. XV, 2398), remained problems to be wrestled with. In many letters to Spalatin, which were nearly always intended for the Elector, these matters formed the topics of correspondence. On March 21, 1518, Luther writes to Lang:—

Our school is prospering, and we are indulging the hope that we shall have lectures in two, yea, even in three languages, on Pliny, on Mathematics, on Quintilian, and a few other very good authors. We shall put aside the lectures on Petrus Hispanus, Tartaretus, and Aristotle. Our Elector, who has already been drawn into our plans, is pleased with them; they are now under deliberation.[285]

The last remark becomes plain by the following letter to Spalatin of March 11:—

Recently we were at Dr. Carlstadt's and took up the discussion of your proposals made to us long ago, *viz.*, how we can

285) XV, 2381; Erl., *l. c.* I, 170 f.

institute and arrange lecture courses at the university. The reason why I have not written you in regard to this matter is, because we are almost in despair over it; for we dread burdening the Elector with such great expenses. But to comply with your wish, I am sending you a schedule showing what we consider improvements. If our university could be established on such a plan, good God, what a great honor that would bring to the Elector and our university, and what an impulse it would give to the improvement of all universities! Barbarism would be expelled much more rapidly, and true learning increased most abundantly. Use your discretion in this matter.[286]

On March 21 he reports to Lang that Carlstadt's exposition of Augustine's *On the Spirit and the Letter* is being printed for use in the classrooms, but Carlstadt himself is sick with the fever, and much work is lagging behind.[287]

Luther's chief worry was that the university had no good teachers of the Bible-languages, Greek and Hebrew. He had often made a special plea for the calling of a teacher for these branches, and on his return from Heidelberg he writes to Spalatin:—

I hope and pray that you have not forgotten our school, and are concerning yourself with the erection of a chair of Greek and Hebrew. I believe you have seen the prospectus of the Leipzig University; they are always imitating our school. They are advertising many lectures which, I believe, will not be given.[288]

On June 4 he reports to Spalatin:—

Petrus Mosellanus [289] has been with us; he is ready to accept our conditions and take up the work in Greek, and has asked me to write you this. I did not know whether you had meanwhile discussed this matter with him. It will now devolve upon you to act; for God has given to you both to know and to do [what is necessary].[290]

286) XXIa, 92 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 168.
287) XV, 2378; Erl., *l. c.*, I, 169.
288) XV, 2394; Erl., *l. c.*, 8, 193.
289) Of the Leipzig University; see *Leipzig Debate*, p. 120.
290) XXIa, 100; Erl., *l. c.* I, 205.—Spalatin wrote the Elector, advising the calling of Mosellanus at a salary of 80 gulden, with which Mosellanus had declared himself satisfied. But the Elector had already entered into correspondence with Reuchlin, with a view of calling the latter's nephew, Melanchthon. The Elector expressed doubts whether Reuchlin would consent to Melanchthon's transfer to Wittenberg. When Melanchthon accepted the call, Mosellanus had to remain at Leipzig, much against his inclination.

At last Luther's wish for a good teacher of Greek was fulfilled far beyond his expectations. On August 25, 1518, there came into the "professors' village" on the Elbe a boyish-looking person with an awkward gait, awkward manners and gestures, and awkward speech. He had just come from Augsburg, where he had met the Elector at the Diet, and had introduced himself as the new professor of Greek for Wittenberg. He had traveled via Leipzig, where he had met and spoken with Mosellanus. This was Philip Melanchthon.[291]

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291) He was born February 16, 1497, at Bretten in the Palatinate, whither his father, Schwarzerd, had moved from Heidelberg, after marrying a niece of Reuchlin. The marriage was attended by many noblemen for whom Schwarzerd, who was a master in his profession, had made swords and cuirasses. Even Emperor Maximilian was among his customers. Melanchthon, who was named Philip after the reigning Prince Palatine, relates of his father that he never had a lawsuit, never had been known to utter a curse, and never was seen drunk. The quiet, well-ordered home life, reinforced by the gentle influence of his earliest teacher, Unger, who was known for his moderation, permanently impressed upon Melanchthon that dislike for boisterous scenes, strife, and controversy, and that tendency to yielding and compromise for the sake of peace, which were his characteristics. His mother was a thrifty housewife, conducting her household on principles of the strictest economy. Melanchthon humorously relates that her economic principles were summed up in the fine German adage:

Wer mehr will verzehren,
Als der Platz kann ernaehren,
Wird leichtlich verderben
Und am Galgen sterben.

(He that would consume more than his estate yields will soon come to naught and perish on the gallows.) Melanchthon's father died in 1507 from drinking water out of a poisoned well. Philip with his brother George were now received into the home of their grandmother, Reuchlin's sister, at Pforzheim. Here the famous Humanist Simler taught Melanchthon the ancient languages. Uncle Reuchlin, who was judge of the Suabian Federation, often came to Pforzheim from Stuttgart and watched with keen delight the rapid progress of his nephew in his studies. Frequently he rewarded the boy's zeal with the present of a book. Reuchlin had composed a number of school comedies; one day Melanchthon recited one of these to his uncle with such skill that Reuchlin said to him: Such a learned little man must no longer be called Lips Schwarzerd, and changed his nephew's name to Philip Melanchthon. Having learned all he could at Pforzheim, Melanchthon, on October 13, 1509, matriculated in the faculty of arts at Heidelberg. He lived at the home of the theologian Spangel, but could not be interested in the subtilties of scholastic theology. His inclinations were altogether towards the humanistic learning. He had become an accomplished Greek scholar, delighted his fellow students with Greek verses, coached them in their studies, and guided the studies of young Count von Loewenstein. In 1512 he became Bachelor of Arts, and at once applied for the degree of Master, but was refused on account of his age. This refusal rankled in his always sensitive mind, and he moved to Tuebingen, where he found his old teacher Simler teaching jurisprudence, and where Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar was studied. Following the illustrious example of his

His uncle, Reuchlin, on receiving the Elector's letter, had said to his nephew: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house unto

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uncle, he published in 1518, when he was twenty-one years old, a Greek grammar. He modestly introduced it as "a boy's grammar for boys." It proved the foundation of his later fame as "Praeceptor Germaniae" (Germany's Teacher). Having amongst other things edited Terence, Melanchthon obtained the degree of Magister January 25, 1514. A higher degree he never desired. Hausrath thinks, because of his painful experiences at Heidelberg. Even in theology he refused to advance beyond the degree of bachelor. Luther, however, called him "the doctor above all doctors." According to the laudable custom of those days a student at a university could at the same time be an instructor. Melanchthon lectured on Aristotle while he read jurisprudence, taught astronomy while he studied medicine, and read philosophy while he instructed in ancient languages. With the Humanists of his time he aimed at encyclopedic learning. Oecolampad became his companion in the study of Hebrew. To Erasmus he dedicated a Greek poem in which he celebrated the famous scholar as the Jupiter on the Olympus of learning. He was constantly polishing his style, and measured his Greek against that of the original Aristotle which differed from the barbaric style of the scholastics. He belonged to the Bursa of the Neckar fraternity, which was somewhat looked down upon by the older students and scholars. Resenting this, Melanchthon became the leader of these young men who were striving for new and better things. With the Humanists of Erfurt, especially Eoban Hesse, this little band entered into a compact to fight the reactionary Dominicans; they would "torment these monsters so that they should find no rest on sea or land." He edited and wrote a preface to the *Epistles of Famous Men* to his uncle, Reuchlin, and it was rumored that he was one of the authors of the *Epistles of Obscure Men;* especially the Second Epistle was ascribed to him, in which Magister Schlauraff in dog Latin and horrid prosody recounts the Odyssee of his wanderings among Germany's inns and schools of poetry, and when he comes to Tuebingen notes that among the fellows,

"Die dort neue Buecher machen
Und echte Wissenschaft verlachen,"

(who are making new books at that place and are ridiculing genuine learning), there is one Magister Melanchthon who is a particularly dangerous Humanist. The publication of his Greek grammar at Hagenau Melanchthon superintended personally. In the preface he says: "Studies that are to train both the intellect and the manners have been neglected; there is no encyclopedic knowledge anywhere; what is called philosophy is an empty, sterile fraud, only fit for engendering wrangles; the true wisdom which came down from heaven to govern men's minds has been banished." Sentiments like these make Melanchthon seem an ally of Luther, except in one respect: While Luther abominated dialectics, Melanchthon exalted that science. He was an admirer of Agricola's treatise *On Dialectic Invention*, in which he believed he had found the best method for penetrating study. The method is briefly this: The fundamental concepts are first fixed in "loci," axiomatic statements; from these the practical viewpoints are determined that are to direct the work of investigation. This categorical method was applied to any literary product, and, as a result, ideas were foisted upon the writers which were utterly foreign to them. Luther saw this and treated the whole method with contempt; he called it the "garrulousness of the sophists"; but Melanchthon considered this method a great aid in his literary work. The adherents of the old school regarded the learned stripling as a stray sheep in their fold. In a letter to Willibald Pirkheimer, in the fall of 1521, Melanchthon describes the ligneous marvels of learning at Tuebingen: "You can't imagine how forsaken by the Muses these men are. The leading men there are most unlearned persons, unless you would number the theologian Lemp, the worst babbler of all, with the

a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great." [292] Instead of waiting for a tardy recognition in his home country, where the young man realized more and more that a prophet is without honor among his compatriots, Reuchlin had urged Melanchthon to reach out for success on the border of civilization. He seems to have recognized the defects in Melanchthon's character; for in taking leave of him, he said: "You are my work and my consolation; be fearless; be not a woman, but a man." Hausrath thinks that the relatives did not place much confidence in Melanchthon's common sense and practical abilities, for they would not let him start for Wittenberg until they had found reliable traveling facilities with merchants going to the Leipzig Fair, via Augsburg, to whom they entrusted the young sage.

On August 29 he was solemnly inducted into office at the Castle Church in Wittenberg. The citizens had looked with queer emotions at this strange lad, and had said that if Reuchlin had pronounced him a professor, it must have been the uncle, not the Humanist, who had spoken out of Reuchlin. But when this awkward youth poured out on them his inaugural oration on the reform of university studies,[293] and the elegance of his Latin style and the wisdom of his statements began to flood their minds, the mouth of scorners was stopped.

I must appear to you, said the youthful professor, altogether void of modesty and absolutely forgetful of self in daring to speak to such an illustrious assembly—I, whom natural disposi-

learned." The old-school professors at Tuebingen were still basking in the sunset glory of their great predecessor, Gabriel Biel, "the last of the scholastics," whom Luther had dubbed "Angel Gabriel." Melanchthon suffered a good deal from the nagging and scurrilous criticisms of these old fogies, and this may have contributed not a little to his readiness to accept the summons from Wittenberg.

292) Gen. 12, 1, 2.

293) *De Corrigendis Adolescentiae Studiis.* C. R. XI, 15 ff.

tion and the peaceful toil of the study keep from appearing in public and seeking popular plaudits by oratory. Besides, the difficulty of my task should have deterred me, if my zeal for true study and a regard for my duty had not urged me to recommend to you most emphatically the genuine sciences and the resuscitated arts. This cause I shall champion against the barbarians who by cunning and force, as is the way of barbarians, have wrested to themselves the name of doctors, and have heretofore repressed the spirits of men by force. By their fabric of lies they seek to check in their best heat the German youths who some years since have entered again with fresh courage the glorious literary race-course. They say: the study of the ancients presents greater difficulties than it yields profits; Greek learning serves only for idle show; as to Hebrew, nothing reliable can be known about it; the true science, pure philosophy, namely, that of the scholastics, is being ruined. To battle against these doctors of duncedom, verily, one greater than Theseus or Hercules is needed. Accordingly, though I may appear rash to some of you, nevertheless, being fired with the love of truth, and eager to assist you, young men, at your studies, I dare to speak with such freedom to you.

Proceeding, he gave a review of the past trend of the scientific movement from the viewpoint of the Humanist. The decay of learning began with the fall of old Rome. Attempts at a restoration, such as were made by Charlemagne, did not endure. On the basis of a misunderstood Aristotle, scholasticism tried to rebuild the temple of learning, but lost in this effort the firm foundation of genuine culture, the knowledge of the *kultur* of Greece. Dialectics, which was considered the training-school for all sciences when it was in its primal purity, became the romping ground for absurd subtleties, and nothing was achieved either in the faculty of arts, or of medicine, or of jurisprudence, or of theology. The only plants that grew prodigiously in this soil were hatred and envy. If such is the present state, the question arises: How are the studies of our youths to be improved? The remedy lies in learning the ancient languages. The sacred records, above all, cannot be really understood without a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The laziness which tries to dodge

the labor of learning these languages has been the cause of the decay of learning in the age of scholasticism, which has become altogether barbaric. Accordingly, Melanchthon announces, he will lecture not only on Homer, but also on Paul's Epistle to Titus, in order to prove to the young theologians the necessity of the study of Greek, and the great contribution which knowledge of the sacred languages makes to an understanding of the divine mysteries. With a splendid display of holy enthusiasm the young professor says to the students:—

> If there is a study that requires mental acumen, training, and care, it is theology. For the perfume of the balm that comes from the Lord excels the fragrance exhaled from humanistic studies. Having been stripped of learning, the Church has exchanged true and genuine godliness for human traditions. Misguided by our love of human ordinances and overcome by love of our own works, we have been feasting on idol sacrifices instead of on the heavenly manna, and have become unchristian. Therefore my aim is to bring into harmony the ordinances of the Church with the evangelical truth, and God's truth shall be my shield and my buckler.[294]

Two days after this oration was delivered Luther writes to Spalatin:—

> Do not entertain any doubts that we have already done, and shall still more do in the future, what you have written and urged upon us regarding our Philip Melanchthon. On the fourth day after his arrival he delivered a thoroughly learned and very pithy oration, exciting such great admiration and universal applause that you need not think of any arguments by which to commend him to us. We have promptly changed our opinion, and do not consider the sight of his figure and personal appearance, but congratulate ourselves upon the fact that we have him, and are full of wonder and thank our illustrious Elector and you for your kind services. But a matter of greater concern is the question for which study you are to commend him to the Elector as best fitted. For my part, I desire no other Greek preceptor while he remains in good health. I fear only one thing, namely, that his delicate health will not endure life in our climate; next, that he has been engaged, I hear, at such a small salary that the bragging Leipzigers have already conceived the hope of snatching him

294) *C. R.* XI, 19. Comp. Hausrath, *l. c.*, I, 233 ff.

from us very soon. For before he came to us, he had an offer from them also. I have a suspicion, and many others with me, that Dr. Pfeffinger, as usual, has wished to prove himself also in this matter an overfaithful steward of the Elector's purse. Accordingly, my dear Spalatin, to speak frankly, that is, with my best friend, see that you do not treat his personality and youthful age slightly. He is a man worthy of all honor. I should not like to see us and our university commit a gross, boorish blunder out of which our competitors could spin quite a pretty tale.[295]

On September 2 he again commends to Spalatin "Philip, the great Grecian, the most erudite, the most cultured," and says that his lectures are crowded with students, especially theological students, from the upper, middle and lower grades, whom he has induced to study Greek.[296]

To Lang he writes September 16:—

The most learned and perfect Grecian Philip Melanchthon is teaching Greek here. He is a mere boy in years, but one of us in various knowledge, including that of almost all books. He is not only a master of Greek and Latin, but also instructing in either language, and he also knows Hebrew.[297]

Melanchthon, on the other hand, had discovered a new world at Wittenberg, especially in his friendship with Luther. At first the mean aspect of the place and the limitations of the university had a depressing effect on him, but with philosophical composure he overcame his disappointments and disgusts, and reached out with avidity for the really great thing that Wittenberg had to offer him. To his friends in Tuebingen he writes: "Here is much more than all human wisdom. I am completely engrossed with theological studies. They are a wonderful delight, a heavenly ambrosia." When he published his inaugural address, he added as an epilog a Greek poem on Luther, in which he voices the overwhelming impression which Luther's strong personality has made on him. Between these two men there now

295) XXIa, 105 f.; Erl., *l. c.*, I, 221.
296) XV, 2399; Erl., *l. c.*, I, 227.
297) XV, 2410 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 237; Smith, *l. c.* I, 113.

grew up a most intimate friendship. Luther took this young professor into his heart with the warm affection of a lover, partly because he was so young and seemed to require the protection and guidance of an older and stronger mind, partly because of his remarkable talents. Luther's unstinted praise of Melanchthon expresses honest admiration, undimmed by any trace of jealousy. He would smile indulgently at the childish superstitions which infested this bright intellect: his belief in omens, auguries, astrological findings. They were to Luther mere spots in the sun; Philip's trained mind and vast knowledge, and the wonderful results that were attained by them, when applied to the profound questions of theology, captivated Luther to such an extent that he became blind to serious weaknesses in his friend and refused to believe them. Melanchthon, however, leaned trustingly on Luther, whom he reverenced with an almost filial devotion during these first years of their friendship. History has few instances of a friendship that was begun so happily and terminated so sadly: it became one-sided through the false sensitiveness of Melanchthon—and through the wrong choice of a life-calling which he had made when he went to Wittenberg. For Melanchthon to the end of his life remained a culture-worshiper, a sentimental Humanist, a philosopher, and never became a theologian of the sturdy apostolic type. His later squeamishness created distressing situations, chiefly for the reason that he had not made a complete sacrifice of his early ideals when he entered into the turbulent work of the Reformation. This is not the place, however, to state the relation between Luther and Melanchthon in detail and with finality. In these early years Melanchthon was to Luther a source of pure joy and happiness, and he profited perceptibly by the comradeship of his able young colleague.

17. The Citation.

While the friends of the papal system were attacking Luther each in his own way and all of them together were busy fomenting hatred of Luther among the people, the heresy-crushing engines of the Curia, as we learned from the letter of Venetus to Hecker, had already begun to work with full force. The various agencies, official and unofficial, that were employed against Luther often cross each other, and have to be correlated to obtain a clear view of the ever changing situation confronting Luther.

Rome's efforts to silence Luther through the Observants of the Augustinian order had failed, and the Conventuals under Hecker had been ordered to apprehend Luther. Rome was now seeking to get possession of Luther's person. Months ago the Dominicans had lodged charges of heresy against Luther with the Curia, and Prierias had submitted his opinion on them to the Pope and afterwards published them in his *Dialog*. The Pope's fiscal, Mario de Perusco, submitted the formal charge of "*suspicion* of heresy," and the Pope yielded to the Dominicans by appointing the committee required by canon law to make the preliminary investigation. The first member of the committee was the bishop of Ascoli, Jerome Ghinucci, the auditor of the "Camera," that is, of that department of the central Roman church government to which financial and legal questions were entrusted. He was not a theologian. This appointment showed what interests Rome considered chiefly at stake in the controversy with Luther. The second member of the committee was Prierias. This appointment of a

notorious opponent of Luther as one of his judges showed that fairness was barred from this trial.

Luther was still engaged on his answer to the *Dialog,* and pushing the press-work on his *Explanation to the Ninety-Five Theses,* when he received a summons, on August 7, to appear at Rome within sixty days. The Elector and Spalatin were at Augsburg in attendance at the Diet. Luther was stunned and dispatched the following letter to Spalatin on August 8:—

I now need your help more than ever, dear Spalatin, or rather the honor of our whole university together with me needs it. The matter is this: plead with the Elector and Pfeffinger that the Elector and His Imperial Majesty obtain for me from the Pope a change of venue, or an order that my case be tried in Germany. I have written the Elector accordingly. For you see with what subtlety and malice these Dominicans who want to slay me are acting to bring about my ruin. I would have written to Pfeffinger regarding this matter, that by his own and his friends' kindly intercession they should obtain this favor for me from His Imperial Majesty and the Elector; but this business requires haste: they have given me but a short time, as you will read in the citation, which is a Lernean swamp full of hydras and other monsters. Therefore, if you love me and hate iniquity, you will be diligent to get the advice and help of the Elector at once, and when you have got it, communicate it to me, and still more to our reverend father Vicar Staupitz, who is perchance now with you at Augsburg, or soon will be. For he is at Salzburg and has promised to be at Nuernberg for Assumption Day [August 15]. Finally, I pray you, be not moved to sadness for me; with the trial the Lord will also make a way of escape.

Referring to the *Dialog* of Prierias, he says:—

This same sweet gentleman is at once my adversary and my judge, as you will see from the citation. Farewell; I am occupied with many things that have to be written, hence I have not leisure to write more.[298]

At Augsburg there gathered, in the month of July, the princes and estates of Germany, summoned to a Diet by Emperor Maximilian. The chief business of the Diet was the levying of a tax for a war on the Turks. The recent Lateran Council had imposed tithes on all Chris-

298) XV, 431; Erl., *l. c.* 8, 214; Smith, *l. c.* I, 100 f.

tians for this purpose. But Germany was filled with such unrest because of the financial schemes of the Curia, and the protest against indulgences had fired the minds of the German nobles and their people with such resentment, that the Curia met with fierce resistance. The old grievances of the German nation against Rome were taken up for discussion again. Canon Fischer's brochure against the Turkish tax was being circulated among the delegates. Luther's adverse opinion on the tax rendered to the Elector helped to stiffen the opposition against the measure, and finally it fell through.[299]

Emperor Maximilian made use of this occasion to further a dynastic scheme of his own: he sought to pledge the representatives to the election of his grandson Charles as his successor to the imperial crown. Rome did not favor this choice, because it would give to Charles, who was already sovereign of Spain and Naples, a preponderance of power with which Rome could not cope.

The management of Rome's interests at the Diet had first been entrusted to Cardinal Farnese. The tardiness of the latter compelled the Pope to transfer the appointment to Cardinal Cajetan [300] in a breve of April 6, 1518. In the papal breve, issued May 5 as a letter of introduction to Emperor Maximilian and King Christian of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, Cajetan [301] is called an "angel of peace," and the two matters which he is to

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299) *Leipz. Debate*, p. 70 ff. 300) XV, 522.

301) Cajetan, Tommaso de Vio Gaetani (baptized Giacomo), Dominican cardinal, philosopher, theologian, and exegete; born February 20, 1469, at Gaeta, Italy; died August 9, 1534, at Rome. He came of noble stock, and in early boyhood was devout and fond of study. Against the will of his parents he entered the Dominican Order before the age of sixteen. As a student at Naples, Bologna, and Padua he was the wonder of his fellow students and preceptors. As bachelor of theology (March 19, 1492) and afterwards master of students, he began to attract attention by his lectures and writings. Promoted to the chair of metaphysics at the University of Padua, he made a close study of the prevailing Humanism and Philosophism. Besides engaging in controversy with the Scotist Trombetta, he took a stand against the Averroistic tendencies or teaching of such men as Vernias, Pomponazzi, and Niphus, directing against them

negotiate are: co-operation in the war against the Turks, and restoration of heretical Bohemia to its former Catholic allegiance. He is "to dispel and calm the winds of heresy which are blowing to and fro," and have destroyed the former glory of loyal Bohemia, famous for its military prowess in the wars against infidels. Without direct mention of Luther the authority of Cajetan is extended so as to embrace the parts adjacent to Bohemia, where he is to lead men "back to the light of the true faith, induce them to forsake and avoid errors, to abjure their former heresies, and swear that they will not take them

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his celebrated work *De Ente et Essentia*, counted the most subtile and abstruse of his productions. At a general chapter of the Order (Ferrara, 1494) Cajetan was selected to conduct the customary defense of theses in the presence of the assembled dignitaries. He had to face Pico della Mirandola among others, and such was his success that the students bore him in triumph on their shoulders to receive the felicitations of the master-general. He was immediately made Master of Sacred Theology, and for several years expounded the *Summa* of St. Thomas, principally at Brescia and Pavia, to which latter chair he had been called by the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza. After two years he resigned and repaired to Milan, whence, in 1500, Oliviero Caraffa procured his transfer to Rome. In 1501 he was made Procurator-General of his order and appointed to the chairs of philosophy and exegesis at the Sapienza. On the death of the master-general, John Clèrèe, in 1507, Cajetan was named vicar-general of the Order, and the next year he was elected to the generalship. With foresight and ability he devoted his energies to the promotion of religious discipline, emphasizing the study of sacred science as the chief means of obtaining the end of the Order. His encyclical letters and the acts of chapters promulgated during his term of office bear witness to his lofty ideals and to his unceasing efforts to realize them. He was wont to say that he could hardly excuse from grievous sin a brother Dominican who failed to devote at least four hours a day to study. "Let others rejoice in their prerogatives," he once wrote, "but the work of our Order is at an end unless sacred doctrine be our commendation." He was himself a model of diligence, and it was said of him that he could quote almost the entire *Summa* from memory. About the fourth year of his generalship Cajetan rendered important service to the Holy See by appearing before the Pseudo-Council (!) of Pisa (1511), where he denounced the disobedience of the participating cardinals and bishops and overwhelmed them with arguments. This was the occasion of his defense of the power and monarchical supremacy of the Pope. It is chiefly to his endeavors that is ascribed the failure of this schismatical movement, abetted by Louis XII of France. He was one of the first to counsel Pope Julius II to convoke a general ecumenical council, *i. e.*, the Fifth Lateran. In this council Cajetan was deputed by the principal religious orders to defend their common interests. Under the same Pontiff he was instrumental in granting to Ferdinand of Spain the first Dominican missionaries who devoted organized effort to the conversion of the natives of America. On July 1, 1517, Cajetan was created cardinal by Pope Leo X. He was also appointed Archbishop of Palermo, but opposition on the part of the Sicilian senate prevented his taking possession, and he resigned February 8, 1518. On the demand of Charles V, however, he was later made Bishop of Gaeta, but this was after he had been sent in 1518 as Apostolic Legate to Germany, etc. *Cath. Encycl.* III, 145 f.

up again." He is given plenipotentiary authority to conduct all negotiations to these ends, arrange compromises, enter into agreements, draw up pacts, and, if necessary, issue decrees of excommunication, suspension from office, and interdicts.[302]

"With the pomp of a Persian Shah," says an old chronicler, Cajetan entered Augsburg. He had stipulated that the Emperor and the German princes meet him at the city gate, or he would return to Rome.[303] With all the display which Rome knows how to make, and with a punctilious observance of rules of etiquette, meetings with the Emperor and the princes were conducted, and every movement of the Legate was made to emphasize the presence of the Pope in him, and his sovereign character. On the ninth Sunday after Pentecost (August 1) a most imposing spectacle was staged by the Cardinal for the special benefit of Archbishop Albert of Mainz and the Emperor, both of whom were to be more firmly attached to the Curia. At six o'clock in the morning the Cardinal with his suite emerged from his palace and walked to the palace where the archbishop resided. The latter met Cajetan at the door and received from him the papal breve which created him a cardinal. After the new cardinal had been robed in his insignia, the procession formed again and marched to the cathedral, whither other processions of the Emperor and the princes were wending their way. The church was a gorgeous panorama of wealth, power, and vanity. Now followed a high mass, at which Cajetan officiated. At the close of this holy performance he turned to the Emperor and delivered to him, with a letter from the Pope, a sword and helmet which the Pope had blessed. The letter was read by the Emperor's secretary, Jacob Spiegel; it said,

302) XV, 523-526. 303) XV, 476.

amongst other things, that the sword was "for taming the wicked and protecting the godly," especially in the present dangers. "Take up arms, brave Prince," the Pope said to the Emperor, "and prepare to test the keen edge of the consecrated sword which we are sending you against the enemies of God and yourself, as a captain of the host in the holy war, as a protector of the nations that are worshiping the true God, as the executor of vengeance upon the barbarians. . . . Receive, inconquerable Emperor, the helmet of the Holy Spirit in the emblem of this jeweled dove, signifying that the inmost center of your mind is to be kept free from guile and deceit, calm and fructified by the Holy Ghost, who under the emblem of a dove distributes gifts and affords protection. . . . Receive this sword, which is not only to impart to you secretly righteousness and judgment, the bulwarks of your throne, but also place all who confess the evangelical truth under your protection. Let your hand become firm and your right hand be lifted high against the rage and fury of the Turks. May it prove a good omen that for this sacred ceremony a day had to serve which is memorable alike to the first Roman Pope [304] and the first emperor. For this day has been set apart for Peter, the prince of the apostles. Moreover, Octavius, after defeating Cleopatra and Antony, and acquiring world-dominion, received the title Augustus because he had increased the empire, and bestowed this name on the month formerly called Sextilis. Our Lord Jesus Christ grant to your ever august Majesty that with this sword of happy augury you may conquer Constantinople and Jerusalem, and extend the Roman Empire and the Apostolic Church to the ends of the earth." [305]

304) August 1 is the Day of St. Peter in Chains.
305) The full description of this scene is found in Manlius' *Historia Duorum Actuum Anno* 1518; German in XV, 526-539.

The Emperor expressed his thanks through the Bishop of Trieste, and on August 5 wrote the Pope the following remarkable letter:—

Most Blessed Father and Most Revered Lord! We have recently heard that a certain Augustinian friar, Martin Luther by name, has published certain theses on indulgences to be discussed in the scholastic way, and that in these theses he has taught much on this subject and concerning the power of papal excommunication, part of which appears injurious and heretical, as has been noted by the Master of your sacred palace. This has displeased us the more because, as we are informed, the said friar obstinately adheres to his doctrine, and is said to have found several defenders of his errors among the great.

And as suspicious assertions and dangerous dogmas can be judged by no one better, more rightly, and more truly than by your Holiness, who alone is able and ought to silence the authors of vain questions, sophisms, and wordy quarrels, than which nothing more pestilent can happen to Christianity—for these men consider only how to magnify what they have taught—so your Holiness can maintain the sincere and solid doctrine approved by the consensus of the more learned opinion of the present age and of those who formerly died piously in Christ.

There is an ancient decree of the Pontifical College on the licensing of teachers, in which there is no provision whatever against sophistry, save in case the decretals are called in question, and whether it is right to teach that, the study of which has been disapproved by many and great authors.

Since, therefore, the authority of the Popes is disregarded and doubtful, or rather erroneous opinions are alone received, it is bound to occur that those little fanciful and blind teachers should be led astray. And it is due to them that not only are many of the more solid doctors of the Church not only neglected, but even corrupted and mutilated.

We do not mention that these authors hatch many more heresies than were ever condemned. We do not mention that both Reuchlin's trial and the present most dangerous dispute about indulgences and papal censures have been brought forth by these pernicious authors. If the authority of your Holiness and of the most reverend fathers does not put an end to such doctrines, soon their authors will not only impose on the unlearned multitude, but will win the favor of princes,[306] to their mutual destruction. If we shut our eyes and leave them the field open and free, it will happen, as they chiefly desire, that the whole world will be forced to look on their follies instead of on the best and most holy doctors.

Of our singular reverence for the Apostolic See, we have signified this to your Holiness, so that simple Christianity may not be injured and scandalized by these rash disputes and cap-

306) *E. g.*, the Elector of Saxony, of whom the Emperor was jealous.

tious arguments. Whatever may be righteously decided upon in this our Empire, we will make all our subjects obey for the praise and honor of God Almighty and the salvation of Christians.[307]

This letter shows that the Emperor had understood that the Pope's enemies were not the Turks only. It also showed with what bait he proposed to fish for Rome's favor in his dynastic scheme. But in the interest of this scheme the aged politician was also ready at any time to revise his allegiance to the Pope: when he found the Curia secretly crossing his plans for his grandson, he said to Pfeffinger, who had approached him with reference to Luther's citation to Rome, that Luther was about to start a play with the priests, and the Elector must take good care of the monk because he might be needed some day, namely, for political bargaining.[308]

Meanwhile rumors that Cajetan was trying to carry Luther off to Rome had reached Wittenberg and caused consternation at the university. The anxiety of the brethren is reflected in the following letter of August 21; Luther writes:—

The messenger whom I sent to the Elector Frederick has not yet returned; hence I am still in suspense as to what the Lord may wish to do in my affair through you. I have heard, however, that the Reverend Cardinal Cajetan's chief order from the Pope is with all diligence to fill the minds of the Emperor and the princes with enmity towards me. Such fear has seized the conscience of great pontiffs, yea, so great and unbearable is the power of the truth over the works of darkness!

Know, however, dear Spalatin, that I am fearing nothing in all these affairs. Even though they should succeed by their flattery or powerful influence to make me hated by all I shall still retain the conviction and consciousness to know and confess that what I have and what they are fighting against has come to me from God, and to Him I gladly and freely return it as an offering. If He takes it, let it be gone; if He preserves it, it will be preserved. His name be hallowed and praised forever. Amen.

As yet I do not quite see in what way I can escape the punishment which is intended for me, unless the Elector comes to my aid. On the other hand, I would rather suffer endless punishment than that the Elector should come into ill repute on my ac-

307) Smith, *l. c.* I, 98 f.; XV, 437 f. 308) Koestlin, *l. c.* I, 192.

count.[309] Believe me, therefore, and persuade whomsoever you wish that I still give myself up just as I have done formerly. A heretic I shall never be; I may err in a disputation, but I do not intend to settle anything nor to be held captive by any man's opinion.

Our friends, both the doctors and such as are concerned about me, think that I should ask Elector Frederick for a safe conduct through his territory. If he should refuse this, as I know he will, that would furnish me a very good excuse not to appear at Rome, they say. If you would, therefore, also in my name ask the Elector for a statement in which he refuses me a safe conduct and leaves it to me to go at my own risk, you would do me a great favor. But this must be done soon; for time flies and the appointed day is coming on apace; there is a great distance between us, and I am not much at leisure. . . .

I am very sorry that my name and undertaking has risen to such prominence and grown to such dimensions that even such great princes take notice of it, and that great lights of such luster deal with me, a most worthless piece of humanity. I considered myself too contemptible, especially as a debater, to make an impression on my equals, to say nothing of my betters. . . .

In a postscript he adds:—

The friends also advise that the Elector's letter be antedated to St. Bartholomew's Eve (August 23); and they say that this would be no lie, because it is certain and generally known[310] that our Elector's mind and intention has always been to refuse me a safe conduct.[311]

Cajetan's progress in Luther's affair was too slow to suit the Curia. To force a speedy action, the Pope not only gave Provincial Hecker the authority to arrest Luther, which we have already noted, but issued two energetic appeals in which Luther is treated as a criminal, duly convicted and sentenced. Two letters left

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309) The same concern for the Elector is voiced in still stronger terms to Spalatin on September 2: "You write that some are striving to make the Elector hateful to heaven and earth; oh, what monstrous doings are these! I wish with all my heart that this may not happen on my account. As I have said before, I say now: I do not want our most innocent Elector to do anything in defense of my Theses, but I want to be offered up and surrendered to any who wish to take action or write against me. I hope he will do this, unless he can bring it about without inconvenience to himself that no violence is done me. If he cannot do this, I want this entire danger to be mine. I hope that I shall well maintain the point that I have undertaken to defend, in spite of all the opinions of the Thomists, that I may glory in Christ's leadership. I shall have to yield to violence, however, without harm to the truth." XV, 2397 f.; *Erl., l. c.* I, 226.

310) Comp. letter to Lang, March 21, 1518, p. 66.

311) XV, 432 ff.; *Erl., l. c.* I, 218 ff.

Rome August 23; by the first the Pope transferred jurisdiction in Luther's case to Cajetan, undoubtedly to expedite matters.

Beloved Son, greeting and the apostolic blessing! After it had come to our ears that a certain Martin Luther, reprobate Augustinian, had asserted some heresies and some things different from those held by the Roman Church, and in addition to this, of his own rashness and obstinacy, forgetting the duty of obedience and not consulting the mistress of the faith, the Roman Church, had dared to publish some slanderous books in divers parts of Germany, we, desirous of paternally correcting his rashness, ordered our venerable brother Jerome, Bishop of Ascoli, General Auditor of the Curia, to cite the said Martin to appear personally before him to be examined under certain penalties and to answer for his faith. The said Auditor Jerome, as we have heard, issued this citation to the said Martin.

But recently it has come to our notice that the said Martin, abusing our clemency and become bolder thereby, adding evil to evil, and obstinately persisting in his heresy, has published some other propositions and slanderous books, containing other heresies and errors. This disturbed our mind not a little. Wherefore, agreeably to our pastoral duty, desiring to prevent such a pest from growing strong and infecting the minds of the simple, we, by these presents, direct you (in whose circumspection we confide much in the Lord, on account of your singular learning, your experience and your sincere devotion to this Holy See, of which you are an honorable member) not to delay on receipt of this letter, but, since the affair has become notorious and inexcusable, and has lasted long, to force and compel the said Martin, now declared to be a heretic by the said auditor, to appear personally before you. To accomplish this, call on the assistance of our most beloved son in Christ, Maximilian, Emperor Elect [312] or the Romans, and of the other German princes, cities, corporations, and powers, both ecclesiastical and secular; and when you have Martin in your power, keep him under a safe guard until you hear further from us, as shall be determined by us and the Apostolic See.

If he shall come to you of his own accord, craving pardon for his rashness, and showing signs of hearty repentance, we give you power of kindly receiving him into communion of holy Mother Church, who never closes her bosom to him who returns. But if, indeed, persevering in his contumacy, and despising the secular arm, he will not come into your power, then in like manner we give you power of declaring in a public edict like those which were formerly written on the praetor's bill-board, [313]

312) Maximilian had never made the journey to Rome to receive the crown from the Pope.

313) The *Album Praetorium* was the place where the praetor used to publish his edicts. (Ducange, *s. v.*) The phrase simply means, therefore, notices to be posted up in public.

to be posted in all parts of Germany, that he and his adherents and followers are heretics, excommunicated, anathematized, and cursed, and are to be avoided by all the faithful as such. And in order that this plague may be the more quickly and easily exterminated, you may admonish and require, by our authority and under pain of excommunication and other penalties mentioned below, all and singular prelates and other ecclesiastical persons, as well secular as regular of all orders, including the mendicants, and all dukes, marquises, counts, barons, cities, corporations and magistrates (except the aforesaid Maximilian Emperor Elect) that as they desire to be considered Christians, they should seize all his adherents and followers and give them into your charge.

And if (which we deprecate and cannot believe) the said princes, cities, corporations, and magistrates, or any of them, should receive Martin or his adherents and followers in any way, or should give the said Martin aid, counsel, or favor, openly or secretly, directly or indirectly, for any cause whatever, we subject the cities, towns, and domains of these princes, communities, corporations, and magistrates to the interdict,[314] as well as all the cities, towns, and places to which the said Martin may happen to come, as long as he remains there, and for three days afterwards. And we also command all and singular princes, cities, corporations, and magistrates aforesaid to obey all your requisitions and commands, without exception, contradiction, or reply, and that they abstain from giving counsel, aid, favor, and comfort to the aforesaid. The penalty of disobedience, in addition to that mentioned above, shall be for the clergy deprivation of their churches, monasteries, and feudal benefices forever, and for laymen, except the aforesaid Emperor, the penalties of infamy, inability to do any legitimate act, deprivation of religious burial, and forfeiture of the fiefs held from us or from the Apostolic See, together with whatever secular penalties may be hereby incurred. And by these presents we give you power of rewarding the obedient with a plenary indulgence or grace according to your judgment, notwithstanding previous privileges granted and confirmed by the apostolic authority to churches, monasteries, and persons, even if it be expressly provided therein that they cannot be excommunicated. . . .

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's under the fisherman's ring, in the sixth year of our pontificate.

J. SADOLETUS.[315]

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314) *l. c.*, prohibition of all religious rites except baptism and extreme unction. This threat, aimed chiefly at the Elector Frederick, was not carried out for political reasons.

315) Jacopo Sadoleto, 1477-1547, was a well-trained theologian, employed as papal secretary on account of his elegant Latinity. He was born in Modena, studied at Ferrara, went to Rome in 1502, where he took orders and entered the service of Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa. Leo X, immediately on his accession to the papal throne, named Sadoleto and Bembo secretaries of breves. He was made Bishop of Carpentras in 1517, where he lived during the pontificate of Adrian VI, and again after the sack of Rome, 1527. In 1536 he was made cardinal and member of the Commission for Reform appointed by Paul III. He wrote commentaries on the Bible and other works, including some against Luther.—Smith, *l. c.* I, 102 ff.; comp. XV, 539 ff.

The other letter was addressed to the Elector:—

Beloved Son, greeting and the apostolic blessing. . . . It has come to our ears from all quarters that a certain son of iniquity, Friar Martin Luther, of the German Congregation of Augustinian Hermits, forgetting his cloth and profession, which consists in humility and obedience, sinfully vaunts himself in the Church of God, and as though relying on your protection, fears the authority or rebuke of no one. Although we know this is false, yet we thought good to write to your Lordship, exhorting you in the Lord that for the name and fame of a good Catholic prince, such as you are, you should retain the splendor of your glory and race unsoiled by these calumnies. Not only that we wish you to avoid doing wrong, as you do—for as yet we judge that you have done none—but we desire you to escape the suspicion of doing wrong, in which Luther's rashness would involve you.

As we are certain from the report of most learned and religious men, and especially of our beloved son, the Master of the Sacred Palace, that Luther has dared to assert and publicly affirm many impious and heretical things, we have ordered him to be summoned to make answer, and we have charged our beloved son, Cardinal Cajetan, Legate of the Holy See, a man versed in all theology and philosophy, to do with Luther as seems best.

As this affair concerns the purity of the faith of God and the Catholic Church, and as it is the proper office of the Apostolic See, the mistress of faith, to take cognizance who think rightly and who wrongly, we again exhort your Lordship, for the sake of God's honor and ours and your own, please to give help that this Martin Luther may be delivered into the power and judgment of the Holy See, as the said legate will request of you. . . .

Given at St. Peter's, under the fisherman's ring, in the sixth year of our pontificate. JAMES SADOLETUS.[316]

On September 4 Marco Minio, the Venetian *chargé d'affaires* at Rome, reported to his government:—

To-day, in the consistory, the Pope announced his intention of sending the Rose[317] to the Elector of Saxony, as that prince was a good Christian and one of the chief princes of Germany. The Pope did this to try, through the medium of the Elector of Saxony, to allay the heresy, as they style it, of a certain Dominican (!) friar, who was preaching in those parts against the Apostolic See, condemning the forms observed by the Church of Rome, alleging, moreover, that the indulgences daily conceded were of no value, and many other doctrines.[318]

Thus everything seemed to be prepared for the offering up of the sacrifice.

316) Smith, *l. c.* I, 105 f.; comp. XV, 547 ff.

317) The anointed golden rose, a much-prized token, sent by the Pope to faithful princes.

318) Smith, *l. c.* I, 112.

18. Days of Suspense.

Those were days of anxiety for many persons in Germany when the Elector with his advisers was deliberating on the best means for saving his professor Luther, and at the same time maintaining his reputation for loyalty with the Pope. Luther even aggravated the case against him by an act which, though well meant, caused great perplexity to his friends at Augsburg. Garbled statements from his sermon on excommunication had reached Augsburg and were causing offense to the bishops, because in their opinion the sermon minimized the effects of the ecclesiastical ban. Spalatin expostulated with Luther for allowing this sermon to be published, and Luther explains his action to him in a letter of August 31:—

Before your letter arrived, the sermon had already been published, however, with such modesty and supported by such solid proofs of the truth, that I am in hope, not only that it will not be rejected by the lovers of truth, but that it will meet with great favor also among those who are themselves displeased with this tyrannous process: so highly have I extolled that sacred power to excommunicate, without flattery indeed, but not more than was necessary. For I have taught nothing in that sermon except what they have taught and are still teaching.

At the close of the letter he commends himself once more to God and Spalatin.[319)]

To his fatherly friend Staupitz in particular Luther opened his mind in these critical days:—

Doubt not that I shall be free to search and expound the Word of God. For neither does that citation nor do the threats that have been uttered move me in the least. As you know, I am suffering things incomparably worse, which compel me to regard these temporal and momentary lightnings quite lightly, notwithstanding that I sincerely desire to see the power of the

319) XXIa, 105 f.; Erl., *l. c.*, I, 220 ff.

Church respected.[320] Now, if I am excommunicated by a man, my only fear is that this will give offense to you, to whom, as I confidently believe, has been given a true and faithful judgment in the matter. You will see that the *Explanations* to my Theses and my answer to Prierias contain some expressions that are rather more frank than you may like, besides their being intolerable to the Roman flatterers. But the *Explanations* had already left the press, otherwise I should have toned them down. But if this Silvester, this backwoods philosopher, is going to continue provoking me with his silly products, I shall, in turn, no longer deal playfully with him, but shall give the reins to my spirit and my pen, and show him that also in Germany there are people who understand the Roman tricks. The sooner this happens, the better I shall like it. Too long and too grievously these Romans, with their endless pranks and turns and wiles, have been mocking us as dunces and poltroons; they do not so much deceive us by their cunning as they are openly and shamelessly leading us about like fools.

For I see that their aim is that the Kingdom of Truth, that is, of Christ, shall not be the Kingdom of Truth, because with united fury they plot not to permit the truth to be heard and expounded in their own kingdom. I desire to be a part of this kingdom, if not by my faultless life, at least by my truthful lips and a truthful heart, professing sincerely those things in which improvements must be made. And I observe that the people are sighing for the voice of the Shepherd Christ, and even the young people are glowing with an extraordinary desire for the Holy Scriptures. Greek lectures have been begun here, and we are all becoming Grecians, in order to understand the Bible. We expect to have Hebrew lectures also; the Elector is making arrangements for them.[321]

I delivered a sermon at Wittenberg on excommunication which was very necessary for the people on account of the grievous oppression of the officials. Although our jurists and theologians approve the sermon, it is surprising what a conflagration contemptible spies have tried to start for me because of it; they caught the sermon from my lips and framed some hateful theses from them, which they have spread and are still spreading to bring me into disrepute. These reports are circulating among the great men at Augsburg and incense many against me. At Dresden I was charged to my face with this sermon,[322] some statements being cited that I had made in it. Behold with what malice they are after me, and how I am hedged in on all sides by thorns. However, Christ lives and reigns yesterday, to-day, and forever. My conscience is my witness that I have taught the truth, and when I speak the truth, I become the more hate-

320) Luther refers to spiritual trials, seasons of despondency, which occasionally seized him.

321) The Elector was at that time conferring at Augsburg with Johann Boeschenstein with a view of securing him for the chair of Hebrew at Wittenberg.

322) By Emser.

ful on account of it. Here is Rebecca's womb: the children in it are jostling one another, putting even the life of the mother in jeopardy.

That, you see, was the reason why I published the sermon: I wanted to meet those poisonous articles or throw some light on matters that had not been understood. Pray for me that in this trial I may remain cheerful and confident. I pray God not to lay their sin up against my enemies. They have zeal for God, as I have acknowledged to them, but it will be altogether without knowledge until Christ illumines them with the same light as us. May He preserve you for His own honor and for the welfare of His Church. Amen. On St. Egidius' Day (September 1), 1518.[323]

Amidst all these unsettling occurrences Luther found it possible to write an exposition of Psalm 110, and therewith discharge a debt of friendship. Scheurl at Nuernberg had asked him nearly a year ago to dedicate a suitable treatise to their mutual friend Jerome Ebner.[324] At the time (September 30, 1517) Luther had nothing that he thought suitable for Ebner. Now this persecuted and agitated professor sends to Spalatin at Augsburg a treatise with a dedicatory letter to Ebner, and asks him to have it printed and a copy forwarded to Ebner. The central thought in this Psalm, the invisible rule of the exalted Christ in the midst of His enemies, has yielded Luther abundant comfort throughout his stormy career. He used the Hebrew term *sheblimini* ("Sit Thou at My right hand") as a name for his Lord Jesus. In his controversies he refers his adversaries to his *Sheblimini*, and declares that if they succeed in upsetting His throne, he is willing to perish in the ruins of it.

At Basle, Wolfgang Fabricius, mentioned in an earlier letter of this year as one of Luther's correspondents, was preparing an edition of Luther's works. He writes to Luther September 4:—

Greeting. Your last kind letter I answered from Strassburg, telling you of Erasmus's opinion of you, that is, how honorably

323) XV, 2384; Erl., *l. c.* I 223 f.; excerpts in Smith, *l. c.* I, 109 f.
324) Erl. I, 112.

and frankly he admires your Theses. Since then I have seen your Sermon on Penitence and that on Indulgences and Grace, each of which declares open war against the customs of this age. I was seized with anxiety for the safety of my friend, who exposes a naked side to dense throngs of enemies, though, indeed, he seems well armed with the weapons of truth. But I much fear that you will be attacked by far different weapons, and that there is danger lest force be resorted to. Wherefore, if you will give ear to a faithful counselor, I warn you, as one who knows, that you will play the part of Sertorius.[325] Believe me, you will accomplish more obliquely than by a direct assault in full force. You see they occupy a fortress defended at all points. They sleep, as it were, on their arms, sheltered behind a triple rampart—the authority of the Pope, that is, of the universal Church, the power of kings and the obstinate agreement of the universities. Forsooth, you will hardly ever break this thick and triple cord of cacodemon. There is need of an Alexander to cut it, like the Gordian knot, with his sword; to loose it by reason or genius is hard. Simple and pious men stand at the beck and call of the fictitious Church. The wiser heads fear her tyranny. And especially we theologians, who sell the greatest of all things, the holy knowledge of Christ, give up Christ for our pride, and, inveighing against all the stains on religion, under the pretext of piety, take care to lose nothing by it. Wherefore, lest your splendid attempt should turn out vain, I pray you use a little artifice, by which you may fix your hooks in the reader before he suspects that a hook has been baited for him.

Thus the apostles urged nothing suddenly, nothing openly, but always preserved decorum and courtesy. With what strategy does Paul approach in the Epistle to the Romans! What does he not do to keep their favor! He simulates one thing and dissimulates another; he winds in and out; he displays his rich burden from afar: again he conceals it; in short, he weighs his words so that he may never arouse hatred or disgust.

The Acts of the Apostles are full of examples of his method. Thus in a tumult St. Paul answers like a turncoat. He does not say, "I do not speak against the Law," but, "Of the resurrection I am called in question,"[326] thus with wonderful prudence diverting attention from the observance of the Law. Thus great things are safely accomplished by oblique methods. Thus I wish that you might always keep some window open by which you might escape when you are harassed in debate.

Recently I received Prierias' foolish pamphlet against your Theses. If you answer him, I hope it will be prudently and according to the true example of Christ in the Gospel. Speak expressly of religion in its inception and growth, of the customs of the ancients, the reason of old error, and the various decrees of the Popes and councils, so that your argument gain credence

325) A Spanish rebel who maintained himself for a time, but was finally assassinated.

326) Acts 23, 6.

as though drawn from the fountain of truth. You can more frequently discredit single abuses by ridicule than by attacking them seriously. Carefully abstain from abusing the Pope, but rather give all the blame to Prierias, as an impudent flatterer, who only for the sake of his belly places an unworthy burden on the pontifical dignity. . .

But behold how my friendship has made me forget myself in telling you what to do. Pray forgive my solicitude. You have more than one champion, Carlstadt, Spalatin, Egranus, and Melanchthon, a wonderful aggregation of genius. If you rely on their counsels, you will never publish anything weak or ridiculous. . . . Farewell.[327]

From Staupitz we have two letters written at this time; one of September 7 is a courageous letter to Spalatin:—

Grace and salvation from our Lord Jesus Christ! My well-beloved friend, what you write regarding our Martin Luther sounds hard, but your pen makes it pleasant, because you reveal nothing but love, and thus comfort while you terrify. Nobody has ever been deceived by Him who has promised that He will be the third member in any company of two that are gathered together in His name.

Now since you, worthy sir, are so fervent in love, and I observe, at the same time, at what pains you are to urge the same also upon others, one cause for despondency, and that not a small one, has already been removed. For such unanimous and godly wishes must necessarily be fulfilled. At the same time the voice of the Holy Spirit from heaven affords us light and strength: "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter; for He that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they,"[328] and sovereign over all rules the King of the whole earth which serves Him. We must have recourse to the instruments of justice, and seek the intercession (or help) of the saints and of godly men, to preserve, not so much our life, as the truth. If we find no help, we must serve the King that rules the whole world by suffering and dying for the truth, even as we must live for the truth rather than for ourselves.

Therefore, ye fellow-disciples of Christ and adherents of the truth of the Gospel, pray with me that Jesus Christ, who is the Light of the world, the Way, the Truth, and the Life of believers, may shine upon us with His light, and give us the grace meekly to seek Him who is meek, think moderately of ourselves, and when we have found Him, proclaim Him steadfastly and fearlessly.

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327) Smith, *l. c.* I, 110; Erl., *l. c.* I, 228.
328) Eccl. 5, 8.

Furthermore, admonish the gracious Elector, your and my lord, not to grow weary on account of the guile of those who with the tongues of serpents seek to overthrow the truth, and that he do not grow afraid at the lion's roar.[329] For it is written concerning the person whose shield is God's truth: "He shall give His angels charge over thee . . . . lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet."[330] Let His Grace leave out of consideration his friends, Luther, Staupitz, or even our Order; let him strive for the truth only, in order that it may come to light; and after the darkness has been dispelled, let him provide a safe place where a person can speak freely, without fear, which might befall even a brave man.

I know how the Babylonian, not to say Roman, pest is raging against those who rebuke the abuses of the men that are selling Christ. For I have seen a preacher who was proclaiming the pure truth taken from the pulpit by violence and, though this happened on a high festival, taken away in chains in the presence of all the people, and cast into prison. Others have witnessed things still more cruel.

So far I have not observed the least defect in your eager interest or the protection which the Elector affords. Dear friend, continue your kind offices in behalf of the highest and eternal truth, in order that His Grace may remain minded as he is now. Greater thanks are due you for this than we two, Martin and I, who are two, yet one in Christ, our Lord, praised forevermore, can render. Farewell.[331]

The other letter, written a week later to Luther, is filled with melancholy reflections:—

Instead of a greeting I say: Possess your soul in patience. So much that I might write is on my mind that it would be enough for a book; but I shall be brief. It seems to me that the world is enraged against the truth. Long ago fierce hatred caused the crucifixion of Christ, and I see nothing looming up before you but the cross. If I am not mistaken, there is a decision forthcoming that without the Pope's advice no one is to search the Scriptures, in order to find Christ, as He has expressly commanded. You have few patrons, and would to God that they did not keep themselves concealed from fear of the adversaries. It is my wish that you quit Wittenberg for a season and come to me, that we may live and die together. My superior[332] is of the same opinion. I close with these words: It is well that as men forsaken we follow Christ, who was also forsaken. Fare-

329) *Leonis* contains a pun because of the allusion to the name of the Pope.
330) Ps. 91, 11-13.
331) XV, 551 f.
332) Matthaeus Lang, Cardinal-deacon of the title of St. Angelus, Archbishop of Salzburg, Prince von Gurk, Legate *a latere* of the Apostolic See in Germany.

well, and come in good health. Given at Salzburg on the Day of the Elevation of the Most Holy Cross (September 14) in the year 1518.[333]

Lastly, the University of Wittenberg addressed two letters on September 25, one to the Pope, the other to Miltitz:—

Most Holy Father, your Highness' meekness and true episcopal clemency must not consider it a misdemeanor or impudent audacity that we dare to come before your Holiness with this letter. The fear of God and truth itself, we trust, rather than our shyness, will conciliate the merciful love and favor which your Holiness has kindly manifested towards everybody, and will satisfy you.

A certain Martin Luther, professor of liberal arts and of the Holy Scriptures, a faithful and acceptable member of our university, has humbly requested and, relying on our intercession, which he hopes will be of benefit to him, has asked us to write a letter to your Holiness in which we offer our testimony regarding his teaching and conduct. He makes complaint—and the facts are known to all—that he is being unjustly accused and condemned on account of both (his teaching and conduct).

Moreover, just at this time he is cited upon your authority by commissaries and strictly commanded to appear personally at Rome, because he has called for a public discussion at our school of certain theses on indulgences. However, on account of his feebleness and the dangers of the journey he cannot do as he should and would like to do. It is therefore difficult, yea, impossible for him to obey the citation. His distress and request move us to pity for him, and we would not refuse him our testimony which he considers necessary.

Accordingly, as loyal, obedient sons of your Holiness, we ask you, Most Holy Father, with all humility and submissiveness, to regard this man as one whose mind and thought, while he has been with us, has indeed never been contaminated with the blemish of wrong, false teaching, contrary to the belief of the Roman Church, except that in accordance with the custom and privilege of other doctors of theology he has, without settling anything with finality or defending anything, proposed certain matters for discussion with greater freedom than his adversaries would tolerate.

For we ourselves have never wished to be regarded as people who would obstinately contend for any position contrary to the common Christian teaching, but we are willing and ready to follow the opinion and obey the will of your Holiness and of the Holy Church in Christ Jesus, our Lord and God. May He obtain for us your Holiness' favor and gracious hearing, and grant your Holiness His grace here and glory hereafter. Amen.

Given at Wittenberg, September 25, 1518.[334]

333) XV, 2412. 334) XV, 434 f.

The second letter speaks a more natural and frank language:—

To the worthy and noble lord, Carl von Miltitz, privy counselor and apostolic nuncio, our patron highly to be revered.

We have learned, not without great grief and sadness, dear and reverend Sir, that the reverend Father Martin Luther, Augustinian, magister of the Holy Scriptures and liberal arts, the most honorable and noble member of our university, has fallen into such disgrace with the Holy Apostolic See that he has been cited to Rome, and although he has in many ways offered to have himself examined as regards his faith, godliness, and official conduct, has not been able so far to get his case transferred to impartial and unsuspected judges in Germany, that it might be examined and composed at a safe place.

We are loyal to the universal Christian religion, to the Holy Apostolic See, and the Holy Roman Church; if we were certain that Doctor Martin had fallen into abominable, horrible, and impious errors, we would be the first not only to surrender him to justice, but we would also have expelled him and not tolerated him among us. There can be no thought of our agreeing with him and favoring him if he had deviated and erred from the truth of the Gospel.

But since we have for many years observed and tested his ability, his varied learning and great understanding in all arts, adorned by unblamable morals and a Christian conduct—all of which is known not only here but in many countries where the Christian Creed holds sway—therefore we hold that it behooves us to offer our petition in behalf of this pious, godly father, who has well deserved such service from us.

For if he were not what we testify that he is, our Christian and gracious prince and lord, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Grand Marshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, the founder, patron, and benevolent father of our university, would not have tolerated him to this day in his country, nor we in our faculty.

Accordingly, we pray you, reverend Sir, most emphatically and urgently so to commend this godly and most learned man to our most holy lord Pope Leo X that he may be given the privilege to do what he has offered to do in his own defense. For since we know that you are a favorite of the Supreme Bishop, and acceptable to him, and highly esteemed by him, we have no doubt that with your active aid we shall obtain what we request the more readily since the Supreme Bishop is meek and kind, educated from a child by the most excellent and learned men in the best arts.

Accordingly show your beloved fatherland this kindness, in order that it may become known that a German does not forsake a German, and that, chiefly for this reason because the predicament of our father Doctor Martin is such that we do not doubt if his Papal Holiness had thoroughly understood his innocence, godliness, and ability, he would find favor, and his case would

turn out well. For we know that Doctor Martin will do all that it behooves a Christian theologian to do, and that he will undertake nothing which might justify an impartial judge in charging him with having caused confusion and wrangling. . . .[335]

The copious correspondence submitted in connection with this part of our study serves to exhibit the immature character of the plans of those who were striving for better things in the Church, and the universal dread which the Pope was able to inspire. Heroic assertions are here found side by side with the plainest pusillanimity. Nor is it easy to separate in Luther himself the clear, calm reliance of faith in great trials from the wavering, vacillating policy which human prudence and shrewdness might inspire. Let us remember that it is just of this period that Luther said later: "I was human then."

The plan suggested by Luther's friends to prevent his removal to Rome was rejected by the Elector and Spalatin, because it involved the Elector in an unnecessary responsibility, bringing him at once personally in contact with the heresy office of the Curia. Instead, he suggested to the Emperor, through the latter's counselor Renner, that Rome waive the citation of Luther and allow his case to be tried by the German bishops of Wuerzburg and Freisingen and a few impartial universities.[336] Failing in this, the Elector applied to Cajetan directly, and suggested that Luther appear before him at Augsburg. Myconius states that it cost the Elector quite a sum to obtain a promise from Cajetan, and that the Elector assumed also the expenses of Luther's journey to Augsburg.[337] On September 16 Luther writes to Lang that the Elector has communicated his plan to him, and that there is hope that he will succeed.[338] The Elector and Spalatin left the Diet before its close, but arrangements had been made by that time

335) XV, 436. 336) XV, 550. 337) XV, 549.
338) XV, 2410; Erl., *l. c.* I. 237; Smith, *l. c.* I, 113.

for allowing Luther to appear before Cajetan instead of going to Rome. Grisar says: "The Elector Frederick the Wise demanded a trial before Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg; this was to be carried out with 'paternal gentleness.' He would not consent to sanction any other measures. Cajetan met his wishes without being untrue either to the Pope or to himself. 'A man entirely devoted to study, without much practical knowledge of the world, he was no match for such an expert politician as Frederick of Saxony.'" [339] On September 11 he obtained from Leo X a Brief placing in his own hands the trial and decision on Luther's case.[340] Politics, indeed, had a great deal to do with this decision, but it was the politics of Rome which was playing for the mighty stake of the imperial crown of Germany. If Rome had restricted itself to spiritual interests, if it had not made spiritual affairs subjects for political bargaining, no power on earth could have saved Luther.

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19. The Journey to Augsburg.

The journey on which we must accompany Luther now has been the most painful that he ever undertook. Leonhard Beyer was again his companion, in accordance with the rule of his Order.[341] Moreover, Luther preferred him for his companion because, if possible, he intended to repeat at Augsburg the disputation which he had held at Heidelberg.

It was in the fall of the year when they left Wittenberg. Nature was preparing to put its myriad forms of life to sleep. Gloomy thoughts had oppressed Luther

339) See Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes;* Engl. transl. VII, 372.
340) *l. c.* I, 341.
341) XV, 2410; Erl., *l. c.* I, 236.

for some time. Low-spirited, the travelers pursued their way in silence. Thus they arrived at Weimar, where the Elector, returning from Augsburg, had arrived. They found a night's lodging at the convent of the Barefooted Monks. Frederick Mecum (Myconius), a young priest who had received an appointment at this place during 1518, reports that Luther read mass at this convent, and still acted the monk in every respect. On September 29 he preached at the castle in the presence of the Elector. The sermon [342] contained no allusions to himself. He inveighed somewhat against the bishops and against one of the Elector's courtiers, as Luther relates to Spalatin who months after asked Luther to write the sermon out for him.[343] The people were surprised that nothing was said about angels in the sermon, although it was preached on St. Michael's Day. The Elector did not receive Luther, no doubt, because he was being watched by Roman spies, and wished to avoid the appearance of collusion with Luther. But he sent him twenty gulden for traveling expenses. On leaving the convent, the guardian, Johann Kestner, said sympathizingly: "O my dear Doctor, the Italians are, by God, learned men. I am afraid that you will not be able to maintain your position against them. They will burn you for your attempt." Luther, who had not lost all humor, replied: "They might burn me with nettles, but to do it with fire, why, that would be too hot! Dear friend, pray a Paternoster to our Lord God in heaven for me and for His dear Son Christ, whose cause I plead, that He may be gracious to Christ. If only He supports the cause, it is already won. If He does not support it, neither will I, and He will have to take the blame." [344]

342) XII, 1768 ff
343) XXIa, 131; Erl., *l. c.* I, 334.
344) XV, 553.

As he proceeded on his journey, he revolved the question what to do. He was sure of his arguments, but the novelty of a possible break with the Church weighed him down. He felt distracted: joyful and confident when he thought of his confessorship, depressed and ill at ease when he thought of the coming rupture. Moreover, Staupitz had written about the stake. Most likely, he reflected, that will be the end of it: I shall have to burn. Oh, what a shame will I bring on my dear parents![345] Wherever he stopped, he looked into solemn faces, and listened to melancholy forebodings. A fragment of a letter written about October 3 or 4 has been preserved in which Luther writes to his friends in Wittenberg:—

> I found some persons so faint-hearted in my cause that they tried to coax me not to go to Augsburg. However, I remain firm. The Lord's will be done. Even at Augsburg, even in the midst of His enemies, Christ reigns. . . . Long live Christ! Let Martin die and every sinner, as it is written. But let the God of my salvation be exalted. Farewell, and stand firm; for you will have to suffer rebuke either from men or from God. God, however, is true, while men are liars.[346]

Fatigued, utterly despondent, and sick, Luther, on October 5, reached Nuernberg, only to meet with a disappointment which he felt keenly. Scheurl, whom the Elector had asked to assist Luther at his trial in Augsburg, was absent on business; the Elector's letter had not reached him.[347] At the Augustinian convent he found his friend Link, who was shocked to see in what condition Luther had arrived. Luther's garment was so threadbare that Link declared he could not appear before the Cardinal in it, and gave him his own. Here, too, the brethren were divided in their opinion whether Luther should continue his journey. When Luther declared his resolution to go, Link decided to accom-

345) Hausrath, *l. c.* I, 250. 346) XXIa, 113; Erl., *l. c.* I, 238.
347) XV, 2415; Erl., *l. c.* I, 241.

pany him. Luther's ill health was due to stomach trouble. On the last part of the journey his condition became critical; three miles outside of Augsburg he collapsed, and a wagon had to be obtained to carry him to his destination.[348] While riding quietly in the wagon, Luther relates, the demon was busy tormenting him with awful thoughts.

The three travelers arrived at Augsburg October 7 and were received at the Carmelite convent by Prior Frosch, who had obtained his licentiature at Wittenberg in 1516. Leonhard Beyer, however, did not stop, but proceeded at once towards Salzburg to summon Staupitz to Luther's side. The cheer and kind attention which Luther received at the convent, at meetings with Saxon nóblemen still in attendance at the Diet, and particularly the genial hospitality (October 9) of Counselor Peutinger, to whom Luther had been given a letter of introduction by the Elector, and social intercourse with such patricians as Christoph Langenmantel and Dr. Johann Auer, the jurist, soon restored Luther to his usual cheerfulness. For the first time he heard at Peutinger's board the Grievances of the German Nation against Rome discussed by wise and well-informed statesmen, and learned to know something of the anti-Roman sentiments of the German nobility.

His first impressions of Augsburg Luther deposited in a letter of October 11 to Melanchthon:—

> There is nothing new or remarkable happening here, except that the city is full of reports about me, and everybody wants to see the man who, like Herostratus, has started such a conflagration.
>
> Act the man, as you do, and teach the young men the things that are right. I am going to be immolated for you and for them if it pleases the Lord. I would rather perish and, what is my greatest sorrow, lose forever your sweet companionship than to recant what has been well stated, and thus become the cause of the ruin of the best studies.

348) XV, 2413; Erl., *l. c.* I, 239.

Through these enemies of literature and learning, as witless as they are bitter, Italy is cast into the darkness of Egypt that could be felt; so utterly ignorant all are of Christ and of the things of Christ. And these men we have had for lords and masters of our faith and morals! Thus is the wrath of God fulfilled against us, as He says: "I will give children to be their princes, and effeminate men shall rule them."[349]

Although the Elector had left Augsburg and had taken Spalatin with him, he had secured excellent advisers and helpers for Luther before his departure. Two of his counselors, Feilitzsch and Johann Ruehel, had remained at Augsburg for this purpose. Peutinger, Luther reports to Spalatin October 10, "is extremely zealous in my cause; nor are the other counselors lagging behind."[350] These men had influential connections and close friends among the members of the Diet and the prominent citizens of Augsburg and employed them in Luther's interest. The Bishop of Augsburg, Christopher von Stadion, happily was absent from the city, and Emperor Maximilian had gone on a hunt.[351]

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20. The First Interview with Cajetan.

To-day is the third day after our arrival, and I have not yet seen the Legate. But I at once sent Dr. Wenzeslaus (Link) and another person to announce that I was here. Meanwhile a letter of safe-conduct is being procured for me from the officials of the Emperor and the Senate. All are very willing and ready

349) Is. 3, 4, quoted from the Vulgate.—XV, 554 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 244; excerpts in Smith, *l. c.* I, 118. In this letter Luther also reports that he has met the new Hebrew professor for Wittenberg, Johann Boeschenstein: "He is a timid person and not altogether reliable. I am afraid that this will debar him from a more intimate relationship with you and your colleagues. But do show him cordial sympathy, not austerity." On the day before Luther had borrowed six florins from Count Feilitzsch for the new professor's traveling expenses as far as Nuernberg, where he was told to borrow four more from Scheurl. XV, 2414; Erl., *l. c.* I, 241.

350) XV, 2414; Erl., *l. c.* I, 240; Smith, *l. c.* 8, 116.

351) "Kaiser Max, dieser unstete Gast, suchte damals Kraeftigung von seinen Altersgebrechen in den Bergen. Er lag dem edlen Weidwerk ob und Gott mochte wissen, auf welcher Martinswand er sich wieder verstiegen haben mochte." (Hausrath, *l. c.* I, 253.)

to serve me for the sake of our Elector. For although the very reverend Cardinal Legate himself promises to treat me with all clemency, yet my friends will not allow me to rely on his word alone, so prudent and careful are they. For they know that he is inwardly enraged at me, no matter what he may outwardly pretend, and I myself learned this from another source.

But to-day, at any rate, I shall approach him and have my first interview; what the result will be I do not know. Some think that the absence of Cardinal von Gurk,[352] others, that the absence of the Emperor, who is not far away, and whose return is daily expected, is having some bearing on my case. The Bishop of Augsburg is also out of the city. . . . I do not know whether the Legate fears me or is preparing some treachery. . . .

Our very reverend Father Vicar, Dr. Staupitz, writes that he will surely come as soon as he learns that I have arrived.

If you will communicate this letter to the friends at Wittenberg, or as much of it as you wish to have them know, you will do me a favor. Some other time I shall write you at greater length; I could not do it now, being engrossed with business. Salute them all for me and wish them well, whether I come back or not. I am sure that I shall appeal to a council that is to be held, if the reverend Cardinal Legate proposes to deal with me by violence rather than according to justice.

We know that the Pope has sent our Elector the Rose[353] (which they usually give to the great with a lively hope of reward), and that quite recently he has expressed to the Elector his entire good will. In short, the Roman Church, if I may say so, is insatiable for gold, and the more she gets, the more she wants.[354]

Thus Luther wrote to Spalatin on October 10. His Augsburg friends were shocked when they learned that he had come all the way to Augsburg without a safe-conduct from the Elector. They knew the Italian church diplomats; they insisted that before he had been furnished an imperial safe-conduct that would place him under the protection of the Empire, he must not present himself at the palace of the Fuggers, where Cajetan had taken lodging and was being closely watched by Ulrich von Hutten. This was a wise counsel in view of the power given to Cajetan to get possession of Luther by

352) Matthias Lang of Salzburg.
353) It had been given to Miltitz September 10 for delivery to the Elector.
354) XV, 2413 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 239 ff.; Smith, *l. c.* I, 116 ff.

any means whatsoever. As soon as Luther's arrival was known by the Cardinal's chamberlain, this gentleman, who had been recommended to Luther by the Elector, sent word to Luther that before presenting himself before Catejan, he must by all means call on him. Urban de Serralonga, the chamberlain, had been at the Elector's court in 1517 as ambassador of the Count of Montferrat, and after his master's death had taken service with his friend Cajetan. When Luther, on the advice of his friends, did not act on Serralonga's suggestion, the latter visited Luther twice to urge him to go to Cajetan with all confidence, assuring him of a kind reception. Luther's doctrinal controversy he treated as a trifle.

Luther has related his interview with Serralonga twice; in the letter to Spalatin from which we just quoted, and less than a year before his death in the preface to the first part of his Latin Works. Serralonga began by upbraiding Luther for not coming at once to Cajetan. Luther replied that he must be guided by the advice of his friends to whom the Elector had directed him, and they had insisted that a safe-conduct from the Emperor must first be provided for him. Serralonga insinuated that the entire procedure was dilatory, and asked Luther whether he really believed that the Elector would go to war in his behalf. Luther, taken aback by the mere suggestion of such a possibility, answered that he hoped the Elector would do no such thing. "But where will you live if he does not?" the chamberlain queried. "Under heaven," Luther replied. Serralonga then gave Luther the advice to simply say yes to all that Cajetan might say to him, recant his teaching, and return to the bosom of the Church. Others, for instance, Abbot Joachim de Floris,[355] had done so before him, and for-

355) Near Cosenza; died 1202.

mally adjured their heresy, and had remained heretics. In the chamberlain's view Luther's affair was ridiculously simple; it could be disposed of in six letters: R-E-V-O-C-O (I recant). When Luther replied that recantation could not be expected of him unless he could not maintain his grounds, Serralonga considered that a capital joke and said, laughing: "Heigh! heigh! you intend to have a tournament with the Cardinal!" Luther looked nonplused, but remembered what his friends had told him, *viz.*, that he did not know the Italians. After this he did know, and in the letter to Spalatin says: "He is an Italian, and will stay one." Of the sale of indulgences, Serralonga said, Luther had taken far too tragical a view. He declared any sort of preaching right that brought good returns in hard cash. Luther, he said, had assumed a threatening attitude to the Pope and the cardinals; what would he do if he had them in his power? Luther replied: "I would show them every respect." Serralonga snapped his finger contemptuously, laughed ha! ha! and left.[356]

During these days of waiting Luther also received a visit from Eck, and arranged for the latter's debate with Carlstadt.

The safe-conduct from the Emperor did not arrive October 10 nor the next day, and Luther proposed to use his leisure for repeating his debate on the scholastic theology at the Carmelite convent; but Cajetan would not give his consent. At last, on October 12, Luther received the safe-conduct, and Cajetan was informed by an imperial counselor that Luther had become the *protégé* of the German nation.

We now accompany the peasant's son into the finest residence of Augsburg, if not of Germany. The Fuggers,

356) XV, 2413 ff.; XIV, 239 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 239 ff.; excerpts in Smith, *l. c.* I, 118 ff.

Welsers, and Blombergs of that free city were bankers, financiers, and plutocrats of international reputation. Particularly intimate ties connected the Fuggers with the Curia. Hutten, who was receiving medical treatment at Augsburg at that time, has given us a description of Cajetan and his mode of living at the Fugger mansion. The Cardinal is described as small, insignificant-looking, "lean, dried up, and sapless like a dead reed, a veritable mendicant friar." In his cardinal robe, behind heavy damask curtains, he was lolling on soft cushions, eating from silver plates, and drinking from golden goblets, but displaying such a fastidious taste that he declared the capon, quail, and venison which were served him from an excellent German cuisine intolerable, not to be compared at all with what he was accustomed to in Italy. The German bread had no taste to him, and the German wine made his eyes water; he was continually sighing for his favorite Corsican wine. And the German climate was simply impossible: His Eminence was actually shivering in July. Hutten depicts him as hurling a threat of excommunication at Old Sol if he would not attend to his business with greater efficiency. At the same time, Cajetan was a filthy miser; his servants were filling Augsburg with tales of their master's stinginess. To sum up, this Italian was the type of the vain, conceited, overbearing Roman church dignitary. He had disgusted the princes at the Diet when during a discussion on the priority of rank he had haughtily declared that he hoped that the equality of Electors with himself would not be seriously entertained even in thought. Moreover, he demanded homage and prompt deference to his opinions because of his superior learning and profound Thomistic studies. Even at Augsburg he published some tracts on his great

scholastic oracle. The paternal and benevolent airs which he assumed towards Luther at first were nothing but the common mask which Humanists wore in their intercourse with ordinary people, whom they considered infinitely below themselves.

On Tuesday, October 12, Luther with his host, Prior Frosch, two Carmelite monks from the convent of St. Anne, and his two Augustinian brethren Link and Beyer, was ushered into the Cardinal's presence. With the Cardinal were two members of his suite, Serralonga being one of them. The news that Luther had arrived spread through the palace and other Italians flocked into the room. Luther had asked Serralonga to teach him the correct etiquette for greeting such a superbeing as a Cardinal and legate of the Pope, and now carried out his instructions. He prostrated himself at full length, as their rule required of monks, and when Cajetan bade him rise, he raised himself upon his knee and waited for a second sign until he stood upright. Nothing in Luther's deportment betrayed a spirit of reckless bravado, and the Cardinal observed him in silence, until Luther concluded that he must speak. He began by stating that he had come to make his excuse if he had taught or done anything in haste, and to receive instruction. Cajetan now spoke kindly and patronizingly of Luther's learning and his excellent work at Wittenberg, as an elevated ecclesiastic might speak indulgently to a defaulting subaltern and Luther was quite affected by the fatherly airs of the Cardinal. Cajetan told Luther that he could very easily dispose of his case, first, by a recantation of his errors, secondly, by a vow never to take them up again, thirdly, by a promise never to assume, on any other grounds, an attitude threatening the peace of the Church. He referred to a papal breve which he had re-

ceived to this effect. Luther asked to be shown the document, but the Cardinal discreetly refused; for he would have had to show Luther the document in which sentence had already been passed on the obstinate monk. Luther now wished to know which point of his teaching he was to recant; the Cardinal at once named the point at which Eck in his *Obelisks* had tripped Luther: the statement in the extravagant *Unigenitus* which connects indulgences with the merits of Christ.[357]

Moreover, Cajetan rejected Luther's view that faith is required for a salutary use of a Sacrament. He held that the power of the Sacraments rests on the authority which the Church has to forgive sins, and that they produce their effects by the mere performance of the sacramental acts. A communicant, for instance, he said, could never be certain whether he had genuine faith, but he could be sure that a sacramental action had been correctly performed. Finally, the Cardinal reminded Luther that he had always protested his readiness to submit to a decision of the Church, and in the extravagant *Unigenitus* the desired decision had been rendered. On the necessity of faith in the recipient of a Sacrament Luther maintained his ground, but the reasoning from the extravagant confused him. The Cardinal kept urging.

It was always one thing that he repeated over and over again, Luther writes to Spalatin October 14:

"Recant, acknowledge your error! That is what the Pope wants of you willy nilly," and similar remarks. . . . "Here,

357) *Leipz. Debate*, p. 42 f.—In 1343 Clement VI, one of the most notorious of the Avignon Popes, had sought to compensate the Romans for his absence from their city by issuing this bull, which created every fiftieth year a year of jubilee during which pilgrims could obtain abundant indulgences at the shrines of the Holy City. In extolling the indulgences, the Pope had cited reason after reason to explain their great value, and in this connection had referred to the merits acquired by Christ's holy living and innocent death. Luther seems at first not to have known this document sufficiently well to discover at once the false deductions which Eck and Cajetan made from it.

here you see that the Pope decides that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgences. Do you believe that or not?" He did not permit me to make a statement or to answer his questions, but tried to carry his point with force of words and with clamor." [358]

Serralonga attempted to break into the conversation, but the Cardinal cut him short. Luther declared himself willing to submit to the Pope *salva Scriptura,* without prejudice to the Scriptures. Cajetan replied that the Pope was above the Scriptures. Luther's rejoinder that but recently the University of Paris had denied this papal claim Cajetan brushed aside with the remark that the Parisians would get their punishment. Finally Luther asked for twenty-four hours to deliberate, and left the room. Serralonga followed him to the door and poured out his advice to him what to do now, but Luther hushed him with a curt remark; he felt scandalized by the demand just made on him to recant without being given a convincing reason why he must recant.[359]

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21. The Second Interview with Cajetan.

Returning to his lodging, Luther found Staupitz awaiting his return from the Cardinal; he had promptly obeyed Luther's summons through Beyer. The Saxon counselors Feilitzsch and Ruehel were called in for a consultation and advised that a declaration be drawn up in legal form in which Luther averred that he was not guilty of any breach of the ordinances of the Church. On the next day, Wednesday, October 13, he appeared again before the Cardinal. Peutinger, the two Saxon counselors, Staupitz, and a notary public accompanied

358) XV, 2416; Erl., *l. c.* I, 246; Smith, *Life,* etc. p. 50.
359) Spalatin's report on this conference is in XV, 561-563.

him. Handing the Cardinal his declaration [360], Luther declared that he was not aware of having taught anything contrary to Scripture, the church-fathers, or the decretals, and stated that he was ready to submit to any lawful decision of the Church, but could not recant before his arguments had been refuted. His Theses, he said, had been offered for discussion; he declared himself ready then and there to take up the discussion, or, if Cajetan preferred, he would consent to have the universities of Basle, Freiburg, Loewen, or Paris render a decision on the Theses. Cajetan treated this formal action of Luther and his friends as a puerile effort, and remarked sneeringly that it was amusing to him to note Luther's belief that the Church would go to so much trouble on account of a mendicant friar. He advised Luther to make his peace with the Church, and not to kick against the pricks.[361] Since the Cardinal seemed to desire no further verbal wrestling like that of yesterday, Luther asked permission to submit his arguments in writing, and to have them made a part of the protocol of this conference. For this the Cardinal rebuked him, saying: "My son, I have not wrestled with you, nor do I intend to do so; but out of deference to Elector Frederick I condescended to grant you a fatherly and kind hearing, to admonish and correct you." Luther was filled with sadness at this reply. Now Staupitz pleaded that Brother Martin be graciously permitted to have his statements embodied in the account of the conference. The Cardinal was not willing to accede to this fair request.[362] In a later report to the Elector Luther refers to this episode:—

I am not to debate in public; privately the Cardinal refuses to discuss with me; and I am not to state my opinion in writing either. [363]

360) XV, 568 f.
361) Acts 9, 5.
362) See Spalatin's report, XV, 564 f.
363) XV, 561.

Finally the Cardinal yielded, and Luther returned to the Carmelite convent to write out his statement, and to pen the following hurried letter to Carlstadt:—

I wish you happiness and salvation, Honored Doctor! Accept little for much, since I am pressed for time; I shall write more another time, also to the others. These three days my case has been very precarious; I had no hope of ever coming back to you, and nothing seemed more certain to me than that I would be excommunicated. The Legate demanded peremptorily that I must not engage in any public discussion; nor did he wish to discuss with me in private. He always boasted that he would not act as judge in my case, but treat me in all respects like a father. Nevertheless, he would not listen to anything I said, except that I must pray: "I recant; I confess that I have erred." That I refused to do.

But the greatest argument was concerning these two points: first, my claim that indulgences are not the treasure of merits of our dear Lord and Savior Christ; secondly, that a person who wishes to take the most venerable Sacrament must be a believer, etc.

Against this the Legate cited the extravagant from the Sixth Book[364] of Decretals, beginning with the word *Unigenitus*. On this decretal he placed his firm reliance and was quite confident that he had defeated me. Accordingly, he wanted to force me to recant. In support of his view he appealed to the general opinion and dream of the Scholastics regarding the power and efficacy of the Sacraments and regarding the uncertainty of a person receiving the venerable Sacrament.

Since the Legate was rushing everything with force and violence, I obtained permission to-day, upon the solicitation of many persons, to submit a written answer in which the aforementioned extravagant *Unigenitus* is exhibited in its true sense, and thus removed from the debate. An argument, moreover, was set up against the Legate and his purpose which forced him, from shame, to drop everything else, and to ask me to leave him, as he wished to confer privately with our reverend Father Vicar, Dr. Johann Staupitz. When the Vicar came to him, the Cardinal made him kind overtures. But we do not trust the Italians further than we can see. It is possible that the Legate is only bent on deceiving us.

However, an appeal is drawn up for me, as well worded as possible, and supported by reasons that are to the point. Moreover, my intention is, if the Legate dares to treat me with violence, to publish my answer on the above two points, that all the world may know his lack of wisdom and his incapacity. For, verily, from his view many absurd and heretical theses

364) This is a momentary slip of Luther. The document is in the Fifth Book. Luther gives the correct reference in the statement drawn up the same day for the Cardinal's protocol.

and opinions must be deduced. He may be a prominent Thomist, but as a Christian or theologian he lacks distinctness, perspicuity, and knowledge, and therefore, for acting as judge in this matter and rendering a decision, he is as much fit as an ass for playing the harp.

Accordingly, my case is the more precarious because it is to be judged by men who are not only my enemies and incensed at me, but are also incapable of understanding it. But no matter! the Lord God lives and reigns; to Him I commend myself and all my affairs, and do not doubt that in answer to the prayers of some God-fearing people He will send me help; for I have a feeling that prayers are being offered for me.

But whether I return to you unharmed and unexcommunicated, or go into exile at some other place, farewell, and hold fast and exalt Christ boldly and fearlessly.

Christopher Langenmantel shows himself such a faithful friend to me that I am embarrassed by his overgreat concern for me.

I am enjoying the favor and approval of all men, except perhaps of the crowd that holds with the Cardinal, although the Cardinal always addresses me as his dear son and has told my Vicar that I have no better friend than himself. But, as I stated before, I take this for what it is worth, and maintain my respect for him. I am certain that I would be the most accepted and beloved of all if I were to repeat this one word *revoco* [that is, I recant]. But I do not want to become a heretic by contradicting a belief that made me a Christian. I shall rather die, suffer myself to be burned, exiled, and cursed, etc.

Farewell, my dearest sir, and show this letter to our theologians Amsdorf, Philip, Otto,[365] and others, that you may pray for me, or rather for yourselves. For the cause that is being tried here is yours, for the reason that it concerns our faith in the Lord Jesus and the grace of God. Given at Augsburg on St. Calixt's Day [October 14].[366]

And now Luther dashed off his statement for the Cardinal. He repeats his readiness to submit to the decretals if they can be shown to be in harmony with the Scriptures. They cannot have any higher authority than Peter, and according to Gal. 2 even Peter had to yield to Paul. Decretals that are contrary to Scripture and Christian love can have no binding force. Some decretals have been corrected by later ones. Scripture

365) Otto Beckmann, of Warburg in the district of Paderborn, canon and teacher of rhetoric at Wittenberg.

366) XV, 565 ff.; Erl. Ed. 53, 3 ff.; comp. Smith, *l. c.* I, 118 ff.

is the court of last appeal, as many citations from the fathers prove. Indulgences can only absolve from penances imposed by the Church. Supererogatory works of the saints there can be none, for the saints were sinners like the rest of men and in need of the merits of Christ. These merits are distributed freely by the Pope through the power of the keys. The extravagant *Unigenitus* Luther tries, unsuccessfully, to harmonize with Scripture, and with increased firmness he insists on faith as a requisite for a salutary communion. The close of the statement is overwhelming by the pathos which Luther pours into it:—

These proofs which I have adduced, and many others, compel me, take me captive, lead me to the teaching which I have stated. Therefore, most reverend father in Christ, I humbly pray you to deal meekly with me, to have compassion on my conscience, and to give me the light of a better understanding. Plead for me with the Pope that he may not cast out into darkness my soul which is seeking nothing but the light of truth, and is quite willing and ready to yield when better informed.[367]

22. The Third Interview with Cajetan.

On Thursday, October 14, Luther, accompanied by Feilitzsch and Ruehel, appeared before Cajetan and delivered the document which has been sketched at the end of the preceding chapter. The Cardinal received it with unconcealed contempt, but remarked that he would forward it to Rome. To the Elector he wrote later that Luther had wasted much paper in writing out citations that were foreign to his case.[368] Further discussions with Luther he peremptorily declined. He spoke in a high voice and in plain anger. Luther, trying to put in a word, also raised his voice, and in his eagerness ad-

367) XV, 571-584; Erl., *l. c.* I, 249-262. 368) XV, 636.

dressed the Cardinal by the colloquial "you." The Cardinal turned and called to him in Italian: "Brother, brother, yesterday you were good; to-day you are altogether perverse!"

In a letter to Spalatin of the same day Luther describes the scene which now ensued:—

Again he clamored for recantation. With a long and wordy argument drawn from the foolish books of St. Thomas he thought he had conquered me and put me to silence. I started to speak nine or ten times, but every time he thundered at me and had the floor alone.

At last I, too, began to shout and said: If it can be shown that the extravagant declares the merits of Christ to be the treasure of indulgences, I shall recant, as you desire. Good heavens, what gesticulations and rude laughter this remark caused![369] The Cardinal suddenly seized the book and read from it with breathless rapidity until he came to the place where it says that Christ by His passion acquired a treasure.[370] Then I: "O most reverend father, consider this word 'acquire.' If Christ by His merits acquired a treasure, then His merits are not the treasure, but that which the merits merited, namely, the keys of the Church, are the treasure. Therefore my conclusion[371] was correct." At this he was suddenly confused, but not wishing to appear so, he bravely skipped to other points, thinking it prudent not to notice what I had said. But I was hot and burst forth, indeed without much reverence: "Do you think, most reverend father, that we Germans understand no grammar; it is a different thing to *acquire* a treasure and to *be* a treasure." Having thus shattered his self-confidence, while he still clamored for recantation, I went away. He said: "Go, and do not return to me, unless you wish to recant."

This abrupt closing of a business on the successful management of which Cajetan had in a manner staked his reputation was not at all what the Cardinal wished. He had already failed at the Diet to obtain a favorable vote on the Turkish war tax. Just in those days the "Recess," that is, the final resolutions of the Diet,[372] were promulgated. In his conversations during these

369) Among the Italian attendants who were present.

370) The passage reads: "Quantum ergo exinde, ut nec supervacua, inanis, aut superflua tantae effusionis miseratio redderetur, thesaurum militanti ecclesiae acquisivit," etc.

371) In the 58th thesis, to the effect that the power of the keys is the treasure of the Church.

372) XV, 452-523.

days with many men of national reputation Luther had with amazement discovered sentiments regarding Rome of the existence of which he had not dreamed. On the trip to Heidelberg he had found theologians taking a sympathetic interest in his cause, yea, agreeing with him. At Augsburg he found laymen watching him with far keener eyes and a more whole-hearted sympathy—laymen, moreover, who had grievances of their own, and that, not a few, to settle with Rome. Luther's intellectual horizon as regards secular affairs widened during his ordeal at the palace of Europe's Croesus, and his spiritual hold of the issue which he had launched became much stronger. Luther could far better afford to leave Cajetan than Cajetan could afford to let him go. If Cajetan failed in this part of his mission also, he had accomplished nothing. Yea, if it became known how he had treated Luther, that would merely help to solidify the wide-spread opposition to Rome, and Cajetan had only succeeded in making bad matters worse. He must have anticipated the charges that were soon raised against him,[373] for no sooner had Luther left his room than Cajetan took steps to avert a final breaking off of all negotiations with Luther. In the letter to Spalatin from which we have just quoted, Luther proceeds:—

> And now, lo and behold! as soon as the Cardinal has finished his dinner he calls our reverend Father Vicar, Dr. Staupitz, and plies him with many blandishments that he must persuade me to recant, even stating, while I was absent, that he was easily the best friend I had. Staupitz replied that he had advised and was even to-day advising me to submit humbly to the Church, as I myself had just testified that I would before all present, but declared that he [Staupitz] was not my equal in sacred learning and talent,—that is, of course, his opinion only!—and that, as the Cardinal took the place of the Pope and was the prelate over all of us in this place, he should himself persuade me. Finally they came to an understanding that Staupitz should draw up articles for me to recant and to guide me in my future teaching.

373) *Cath. Encycl.* III, 146.

Thus the business stands, but I have no hope nor confidence in him. I am working daily on an appeal, being resolved not to recant a syllable. If he proceeds as he has begun, by force, I shall publish my answer to him, that he may be confounded throughout the world.[374]

Cajetan made another effort to influence Luther through Link, stating that he would connive at Luther's teaching on the necessity of faith for a salutary use of the Sacrament; but Luther's statements regarding indulgences would have to be recanted unconditionally. Naturally! that was what hurt Rome's business.

That a conference took place between Luther and his two friends, Staupitz and Link, at which the latter used all his influence to move Luther from his position, is seen from the following letter which Luther, according to Loescher,[375] on October 17 sent to Cajetan by Prior Pomesan—the day was the 20th Sunday after Trinity—with a request that the Cardinal would give him leave to quit Augsburg:—

Very Reverend Father in Christ, I come again, however, in the form of a letter; deign, your Fatherly Reverence, to hear me kindly.

Our reverend vicar Johann Staupitz, my most beloved father in Christ, has conferred with me, advising me to think humbly and to drop my opinion; he also commended your Fatherly Reverence to me and persuaded me that you are favorably disposed towards me, so that both the message and the messenger were equally gratifying to me. For Staupitz is in my eyes a man of such character and greatness that there is no one in the world whom I would hear and obey more gladly. With equal zeal my dearest brother Wenzeslaus Link, who was my companion at school when we were young, related the same things concerning your Fatherly Reverence. To be brief, your Fatherly Reverence could not have brought a stronger and sweeter force to bear upon me than by the mediation of these two men, each of whom has me entirely in his control. So great has been both the humanity and the prudence with which I see that your Fatherly Reverence is seeking me, not mine, though you might have lorded it over me by sheer force. Therefore

374) XV, 2417 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 247 f.; Smith, *Life*, etc., p. 50.
375) *Ref.-Acta* II, 479.

my fear has gradually passed away, yea, has been changed into a singular love and true veneration for your Fatherly Reverence.

Now I confess, Very Reverend Father in Christ, as I have done elsewhere, that I have indeed been indiscreet (as they call it), bitter and irreverent to the name of the Pope. And although I was provoked to such irreverence by most bitter attacks, still I see that it would have been my part to treat this subject with greater modesty, humility, and reverence, and not answer a fool in such a manner that I became like him.[376] I am sincerely sorry and ask pardon for this, and I shall state this publicly from every pulpit, as I have often done before; and hereafter, by God's grace, I shall be careful to act and speak differently. Yea, I am quite ready and promise, without any difficulty, after this not to treat the subject of indulgences, and after the present case has been settled to keep silent, provided the same rule, either of speaking or remaining silent, is imposed on those who have roused me to this tragic business.

For the rest, most reverend and now beloved father in Christ, as to the truth of my opinion, I would most gladly recant everything, both upon your own and my vicar's command and advice, if my conscience would at all permit me. For I know that I must not yield to any one's precept, counsel, or favor to the extent of saying or doing anything against my conscience.[377] Moreover, what the divine Thomas and others have said is not of such weight as to satisfy me in this matter, although I have been at pains to read and understand them thoroughly before I argued against them. They do not seem to stand on a sufficiently firm foundation. But that is the only thing that is lacking, *viz.*, that I be overcome by a better argument; and that would mean that I be regarded as worthy to hear the voice of the bride; for that would be the same as hearing the voice of the Bridegroom.

Therefore I pray with all humility that your Fatherly Reverence would deign to refer my case to our most Holy Father Leo X, in order that these doubtful matters may be decided by the Church, and I may be compelled either to recant or to believe them. For I desire nothing else than to follow the Church. For what my recantation of doubtful and undecided matters is to accomplish I do not see, except that it might justly, I fear, be thrown up to me that I do not know either what I asserted or what I recanted. May your Reverence deign to receive my humble and suppliant petition, and to treat me kindly as your son.[378]

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376) Prov. 26, 4.
377) Here Luther's answer at Worms is foreshadowed.
378) XV, 589. (The translation of Hoppe is from the duplicate in Erl. Ed. *Op. v. a.* II, 393.) Erl, *l. c.* I, 263. (Excerpts in Smith, *Life*, etc., p. 52.

At the passage in this letter where Luther promises silence, Vitus Dietrich wrote in the margin:—

See how much he deferred to the Cardinal! But God infatuated the heart of Cajetan with pride, so that he did not accept these conditions, and thus furnished the occasion for the overthrow of the papacy.[379]

Luther had indeed gone to the limit of forbearance in this letter by making the Cardinal such an offer. He had yielded more to his friends in doing so than to the Cardinal. Staupitz had expected no favorable ending of the trial. Two days prior he had written to the Elector:—

The Legate from Rome acts as (alas!) they all do here: he gives fair words, but all empty and vain. For his whole soul is intent on making Luther recant, not considering that Luther offers to stay still and debate publicly at Augsburg, and to give an answer and reason for this debate, yes, for every word in it. But the unjust judge does not want him to debate, but to recant. Nevertheless, Dr. Luther has in writing so answered his fundamental argument, that the Cardinal is straitened therein, and no longer trusts his own argument, but seeks here and there, this and that, how he may extirpate innocent blood and force recantation. God will be the best judge and protector of the truth.

He says also that there is in the land a letter of the General against Luther.[380] Dr. Peutinger has heard that it is also against me, with the purpose of throwing us in prison and using force against us. God be our guard! Finally, I fear our professor must appeal and expect force. God help him! His enemies have become his judges; and those who sue him give judgment against him. Herewith I commend myself to your Grace, and your Grace to the eternal God. I know nothing as yet certain to write. But if the affair shall take a more favorable turn, I shall write in haste to your Grace.[381]

Luther's deprecatory letter to Cajetan was. in part, written to exonerate his friends; he wanted to draw no one into his danger. But the rumor which Staupitz had heard from Peutinger convinced the former that Augsburg was no longer a safe place for him. Both Staupitz and Link now decided hurriedly to leave the city, and

379) Erl, *l. c.* I, 265.
380) The letter of Venetus to Hecker, *p.*
381) Smith, *l. c.* I, 120.

started for Nuernberg Saturday, October 16. Staupitz, who had so bravely admonished Luther to remember that his cause was Christ's, and that he must confess Him to the end, now left Christ to take care of Luther. The aged vicar collapsed completely. Before he made his escape from Augsburg, he called Luther aside and freed him from his monk's vow, addressing him in the formal terms: "I discharge thee from disobedience to me (as vicar of the Augustinian Order), and commit thee to the mercy of Christ." Staupitz's object was to renounce all responsibility for future acts of Luther.

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23. The Flight from Augsburg.

While the Cardinal was ruminating Luther's letter, the Saxon counselors deemed it necessary that a legal step be taken to insure Luther's safety. In view of the fact that Prierias, acting as the Pope's counselor, was to take a leading part in Luther's trial at Rome, the jurists held that the entire process against Luther was faulty from the beginning. They advised Luther to ask for the appointment of different judges. Luther at first considered this unnecessary, because he had resolved, as a last resort, to take an appeal to a general council of the Church, but out of deference to the Elector, who had left his counselors at Augsburg to aid him, Luther finally accepted their plan. Another plan which had been suggested had to be dropped because its execution entailed great expenses. The plan was that Luther should remove to Paris and transfer his controversy with the Curia to the foremost university of Europe. Accordingly, a document which Luther had composed with the aid of Dr. Auer was put into legal form and sworn to before a

notary public on Saturday, October 16. This document is Luther's famous *Appeal from the Pope Ill Informed to the Pope to Be Better Informed.*[382] It is simply a solemn plea in the curious legal lore of the Middle Ages for an impartial court to try his case, in the place of the judges whom Luther declares "suspected."

The entire Sunday passed, and Luther was still without a reply from Cajetan. Staupitz' and Link's departure had set ugly rumors afloat. Accordingly, on Monday, October 18, Luther sent another letter to Cajetan:—

Your Fatherly Clemency has seen, yea, I say, has seen and sufficiently observed, my obedience. I have undertaken this far journey amid great dangers, though I am in poor health and my means are very scanty. I have come hither by order of our Most Holy Master Leo X, to appear before your Reverence. Moreover, I have cast myself at His Holiness' feet with my published treatise containing the *Explanation* of my Theses on indulgence, and with all my affairs, and I am now waiting and stand ready to accept whatever seems good to His Holiness, whether he condemns my cause or approves it. I am conscious of having omitted nothing which it behooves an obedient and submissive son of the Church to do.

I intend, therefore, to waste no more time at this place; nor can I tarry any longer, for the reason that I am without means. I have been, and still am, a greater burden to the dear Carmelite fathers than is convenient for them, chiefly because your fatherly love has commanded me by personal address not to appear before your Reverence again, unless I wished to recant. Now I have indicated in my previous letter how much I can recant. Accordingly, I now depart in God's name and shall try to find another place where I may abide. Although I was advised, even by persons who can influence greater men than myself, to take an appeal from your reverend fatherly goodness, yea, from our most Holy Father Leo X, who is ill informed, until he may be better informed (for I know that I would do our most gracious Elector a greater favor by appealing than by recanting), still, as far as I was concerned, I would not have taken the appeal. First, because I did not consider it necessary to appeal and to drag this matter before judges, because, as I have stated, I have committed everything to the decision of the Church and am waiting only for its verdict. What else am I to do? What else can I do? Nor is it necessary that a formal charge be preferred against me and I be

382) See Appendix.

permitted to make reply, because I am not a stickler for terms that I have used, but like a pupil I wish to learn the decision of the Church and not fight against it as an opponent.

Secondly, I am almost convinced that this matter is tedious to your reverend fatherly goodness, and that my appeal is gratifying to you.

Accordingly, as I have incurred no guilt, I do not have to fear any punishment; although my disposition—God be praised!—is to fear punishment less than error and false opinions in matters of faith, because I know that the punishment does not harm, but benefit me, if I have true faith and knowledge of the truth on my side.[383]

By the bowels of the mercy of Christ and by the great clemency which your reverence has shown me, I pray, therefore, that you will graciously recognize the obedience which I have so far fully rendered, and that you will kindly indicate the same to our most Holy Master on my behalf, and will put the best construction on my departure and on the appeal which I have taken in my distress, on the advice of good friends and out of respect for a great authority. For I could not overcome this argument when they said to me: "What will you recant? Are you going to set up a law for us by your recantation? If there is anything to condemn, let the Church first do the condemning and then follow its decision, and do not make the Church follow yours." I had to confess myself beaten and to concede that they were right.[384]

A month later Luther had to describe his interview with Cajetan to the Elector,[385] to whom the Cardinal had written an account of his conferences with Luther.[386] In this description Luther, after noting the final conference with Staupitz and Link, says:—

I remained at Augsburg the entire Saturday; no word, no order was sent me. I remained the following Sunday and approached the reverend Cardinal by letter at least; but nothing came of it. I remained Monday; I remained even Tuesday. The silence had become suspicious to me and all my friends. Then fearing violence, I made arrangements for disposing of my appeal and left Augsburg. I started on my return trip Tuesday, confident that I had rendered abundantly a difficult and faithful obedience to the Pope in accordance with the tenor of his citation.

Luther's departure from Augsburg occurred during the night from October 20 to 21. Canon Langenmantel,

383) Luther here quotes words from Augustine's *De Vera Religione*.
384) XV, 592 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 266 ff.
385) XV, 637 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 283 ff.
386) XV, 634 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 269 ff.

whom Luther had at first distrusted, although the Elector had directed him to this gentleman, aided Luther by having a postern gate in the city wall opened for him. Once outside, Luther leaped upon a horse that was kept ready for him and, accompanied by an old mounted messenger of the city council, rode in his monk's undergarments covered by the cossack, eight miles without stopping. When the town of Monheim was reached, he was so stiff and exhausted that he dropped into the litter of the stable and slept as if dead.

At Augsburg there now remained of Luther's friends only his traveling companion, Leonhard Beyer. He was to take Luther's appeal to Cajetan, but a panic had seized all who favored Luther, and the young monk did not have the courage to beard the Roman lion in his den at the Fugger mansion. He asked the notary to post the appeal at the cathedral. In a letter to Spalatin of November 12 Luther relates that Beyer has returned and has brought Prior Frosch with him, and that the two have reported to him the following:—

One of my friends had frightened the notary not to post my appeal, but on the urging of Prior Frosch the notary performed the task. Such are men if God is not with them. The person to whom I referred is a great man and was numbered among my foremost friends. But Scripture is true: "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no help." 387)

Luther had meanwhile reached Nuernberg on the horse furnished him, which seems to have belonged to the Augustinian convent at Ramsau. In a letter of May 30, 1519, to the Prior Martin Glaser, Luther writes:

Venerable father, you are quite right in feeling surprised and even indignant that I have hitherto written you nothing. Though I have plenty of excuses, yet I prefer to confess my fault. I hope that through the intercession of the reverend father Staupitz you will be indulgent to a poor man like me in

387) Ps. 146, 3, according to the Vulgate.

the affair of your horse. Doubtless you gave it to God, not to me.[388]

On November 25 Luther wrote Langenmantel:—

Those kind services with which your humane and pious disposition overwhelmed my unworthy self have made your name and fame a pleasant and sweet savor to us. For, as was proper, I commended your and Dr. Auer's fidelity; I do not intend to glorify you because of this matter, but an instance of such fidelity ought to be praised to the world. The Lord Jesus who made you think of, will, and do such things, will recognize and approve his own works in you. Truly, pure fidelity and sincere friendship is a rare bird.[389]

Staupitz and Link felt greatly relieved when Luther arrived among them. They had meanwhile learned the real extent of Luther's danger: Spalatin had sent to Luther, for delivery at Nuernberg, a copy of the papal breve to Cajetan of August 23. When Luther, a few weeks later, had digested its contents, he called it "breve apostolicum, imo diabolicum" (an apostolic, rather a diabolic, breve), and wrote Spalatin:—

It is incredible that such a monster should come from a Pope, especially from Leo X. Therefore, whoever the rascal was who, under the name of Leo X, proposed to terrify me with this decretal, shall know that I also understand a practical joke. But if it did come from the Curia, I shall take them to school for their impudent rashness and wicked ignorance.[390]

The events at Augsburg had made no change in the cordial relations of his Nuernberg friends to Luther. Pirckheimer, "Germany's foremost citizen," claimed him

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388) XXIa, 174; Erl., *l. c.* II, 63; Smith, *l. c.* I, 191.—It is not known what happened to the horse, whether it was not returned, or whether Luther had ridden it to death. Here is an opportunity to make out a case of horse-theft against Luther that seems to have been overlooked by certain people engaged in research work on Luther's life.

389) XXIa, 118; Erl., *l. c.* I, 305; Smith, *l. c.* I, 132.

390) XV, 2409; Erl., *l. c.* I, 273 f.; Smith, *l. c.* I, 128.—Luther's first opinion that the breve is spurious is defended by some to this day, but historical research has established its genuineness beyond a doubt. The shocking character of the breve seems to be the chief argument against its authenticity; that, however, is not an argument, but a sentiment; and the sentiment does not comport with the times in which such shocking things were not rare by any means. The breve aimed at securing Luther's person; after that some legal process would have been executed at Rome which would have been officially dubbed "the trial of Luther."

for his guest.[391] The remainder of his return journey Luther again made on horseback. At Graefenthal, near Saalfeld, he met Count Albert of Mansfeld, who was well disposed towards Luther. "The Count," says Luther, "laughed at my horsemanship, and insisted that I must be his guest." Luther had intended to be at Wittenberg October 30, but missed his way in Duke George's country and reached Wittenberg via Kemberg. A year ago he had gone out to this village with Dr. Schurf, who had upbraided him for publishing his Theses and had predicted that Rome would not tolerate such an offense. Luther had remarked: "What, if they will have to?" It was beginning to look as if Rome would have to tolerate this and even greater offenses.

Luther's first act on re-entering his cell was to celebrate mass. "So devout I still was at that time," he says at a later time. He had indeed every reason to bless the Lord who had redeemed his life from destruction.

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24. The Fine Sport of Getting Luther Continues.

So far Rome's Luther-hunt was a failure;[392] the quarry had escaped every time the huntsmen were closing in upon it. Archbishop Albert had declined personal participation in the hunt, and invited the Curia and his agent, Tetzel, to do the hunting for him. Tetzel and Wimpina had started a great hullabaloo, and succeeded only in advertising their incapacity. The Augustinian Order had proved a bad gun to shoot with. The aged

391) For this kind act the bigoted Kilian Leib, Prior of Rebdorf, ceased his correspondence with Pirckheimer for five years.

392) Luther to Link, December 11: "Latratores illi mire contra me latrant ubique, sed nihil proficiunt." (The barkers are barking wonderfully against me everywhere, but they accomplish nothing.)

Master of the Palace sat marooned on the four principles of his *Dialog,* waiting for some one to drive the game into his range. Cajetan had the quarry at bay, when it suddenly broke through the cordon of huntsmen. From his cell at Wittenberg Luther wrote to Spalatin late in the evening of All Saints, 1518:—

I have come to-day to Wittenberg safe, by God's grace, but know not how long I shall remain, for my case is in such a state that I both fear and hope . . . . I am so full of joy and peace that I wonder that many great men regard my trial as severe.

The benevolence and clemency which the Cardinal Legate had promised our Elector to show me was certainly extraordinary and displayed in large measure, but I did not take it as such. For he offered to do all in a fatherly, yea, most fatherly fashion, and no doubt would have done so, had I only recanted my teaching. For our conference became deadlocked at this point; I would not, and he desired by all means that I should, recant (nor do I believe that he had any other instructions but to condemn me); therefore I was compelled to take an appeal . . . . The Cardinal himself, as far as his person is concerned, pleased me very much, and the Romans, I suspect, are beginning to grow afraid and to distrust their own strength; that is the reason why they are seeking a way out with wonderful ingenuity. I will tell you more, I hope, face to face. Commend me to the Elector and give him my thanks.[393]

The Cardinal was not willing to give up the chase. He believed that he had been foiled by the Elector. He set to work to break down the powerful protection which he believed was secretly afforded Luther by the Elector. Some passages in a letter which he wrote to the Elector October 25 reveal his resentment and future tactics:—

Before Brother Martin Luther called on me, he wanted to safeguard himself by a safe-conduct which he obtained from the counselors of his Imperial Majesty, out of regard for, and as a favor to, your illustrious Lordship, however, not without my knowledge. For these lords would not grant anything without my permission. I told them to do anything they pleased, as long as they did not mix my name up in the affair. And now I began to wonder: if your Excellency placed confidence in me, a safe-conduct was not needed; if you did not, you should not have sent him to me as to a father.

393) XV, 2408 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 273 f.; Smith, *l. c.* I, 128 f.

Continuing, the Cardinal describes his three interviews with Luther, and concludes by saying:—

While I was hoping for the best, the vicar [Staupitz] departed without taking leave of his host, and without my knowledge. Next Brother Martin and his companions left. They have practised a beautiful deception on me, or rather on themselves. I have since received a letter from Brother Martin, in which he pretends to ask for mercy, but does not recant the evil and offensive teachings which he has forced into the Catholic Church.

For my part, illustrious Elector, I am not only surprised, but stand aghast and am horrified at the wily plan pursued by Brother Martin and his followers. For while I was in the best hope that matters would turn out well for him, I was entirely thwarted. I do not see on whom he relies in what he is doing.

I can state three facts with certainty in this matter: First, assertions have been made by Brother Martin in his Theses for the sake of bringing on a disputation, but in his sermons and writings they are set up as established facts, and are being spread among the people in the German language. They are partly against the teaching of the Apostolic See, partly damnable. Your illustrious Lordship may believe me, for I speak from certain knowledge, not from guesses.

Secondly, I admonish and pray your Lordship to consider your honor and conscience, and either to send Brother Martin to the City or expel him from your country, if, having been dealt with in a paternal way, he will not acknowledge his error and harmonize his faith with that of the entire Church.

Lastly, let me tell your illustrious Lordship that this grave and pestilent business will not be protracted long, for the trial will be pushed at Rome. I have washed my hands by writing to our most holy lord [the Pope] about these deceptions.[394]

In referring to Luther, the Cardinal in this letter calls him "fraterculus," "the little brother." Luther afterwards appropriated this designation. In a postscript Cajetan adds:—

I ask a second time, and a third, that your Grace will not be duped by those who say that Brother Martin's doctrine contains nothing that is wrong, and that you will not suffer the honor of your ancestors and your own honor to become tarnished on account of an insignificant little brother, as you have so often promised.

I am speaking the pure truth, and wish to abide by the rule of Christ: "By their fruits ye shall know them."[395]

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394) XV, 634 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 268 ff.
395) Matt. 7, 20.

The letter reached the Elector November 19. After the close of the Diet the Cardinal had removed his residence to Linz. He had spoken truly when he told the Elector, Rome would not let the matter rest. Only, Rome was now calling on a fresh huntsman, supplied with extraordinary ammunition, who was to co-operate with the Cardinal under the latter's direction. The following letter of the Pope, written October 24, must have reached the Elector about the same time that Cajetan's letter arrived:—

Beloved Son, noble sir. Greeting, etc. We are the more willing to send you, through our beloved son, our notary and chamberlain, Charles von Miltitz, your Grace's loyal subject,[396] the holy Golden Rose, blessed with our hands, and nobly consecrated on the Fourth Sunday of last Lent, our noblest gift, a thing of secret meaning and a splendid decoration for the noble House of Saxony this year. The said Charles will show your Grace what we have commanded him to undertake against the dire foes of the Christian man and against the crime and presumptuous error of a friar Martin Luther.

Noble Sir and beloved Son. It seems to us more necessary every day to take thought for a crusade against the Turks' unholy wrath . . . . But while we were considering how to bring this to pass, and were bending all our forces to this end, Satan reveals this son of perdition or of damnation, Martin Luther, of the Order of St. Augustine, who has dared in your territories to preach to the Christian flock against us and the Holy Roman See. This not only savors of open heresy, but merits heavy punishment, of which, as it is well known both to us and to you, we shall say nothing more. It becomes us not to tolerate this any longer, both because of our honor and that of the Papal See, and the credulous people may be hereby led to evil doctrine with great scandal. In order, therefore, that this infected, scrofulous sheep may not grow strong in the healthy sheepfold of the Lord, and in order that the boldness of this Martin may stop, and not send his root too deep and firm to be rooted out of the field of the Lord given to our charge, and as we know and have no doubt that this troubles your con-

396) Born about 1480, the son of Sigismund von Miltitz, "Landvogt" of Meissen, drowned in the Main near Gross Steinheim November 20, 1529. He received his humanistic and theological education at Mainz, Trier, and Meissen, and went to Rome in 1514 or 1515, where he was made papal chamberlain and notary, and acted as agent of Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and of Duke George the Bearded. He obtained for the latter the permission to transport some of the earth of the Campo Santo in Rome, which originally had been brought from Jerusalem, to Annaberg in Saxony, where it was used in the cemetery. (*Cath. Encycl.* X, 318.)

science not a little, for the reputation and honor of yourself and of your famous ancestors, who were always the hottest opponents of heresy, we have commended the said Charles, our nuncio and chamberlain, in another letter and breve, to take cognizance of this affair, and to act against the said Martin and against his followers, who support his scandalous opinions. This is further explained in our letter of credence. We remind your Lordship, and admonish you paternally, to act according to your reason and the virtue of a Christian prince, on which not a little depends, for the sake of your noble reputation, to favor and support the said Charles in whatever he may ask of you in our name not less than you would ourselves. . . . .[397]

This letter was reinforced by one which the Pope at the same time wrote to Spalatin:—

Beloved Son, greeting and the apostolic blessing! Considering the merits of the beloved and noble Frederick Elector of Saxony, and the favor which, following the custom of his famous ancestors, he has shown to us and the Apostolic See, and which he may show in a greater measure hereafter, we have decided, with much affection and paternal love, to send him the most sacred Golden Rose, annually consecrated with mysterious rites on the fourth Sunday of Lent, and sent to some powerful Christian king or prince. We send it by our beloved son, Charles von Miltitz, our chamberlain and servant. We want you to know some things which concern the dignity and authority of us and of the aforesaid See.

For we know how much favor, and deservedly, you have with the said Elector, and how highly he considers your wholesome and prudent counsel. Wherefore we exhort you in the Lord, and paternally charge you on your duty and devotion to us and to the said See, that you consider how great an honor and gift we are sending the said Elector, and that you also consider how detestable is the overbearing boldness of that only son of Satan, Friar Martin Luther. Consider also that he savors of notorious heresy, and can blacken the name and fame of the great Elector and his ancestors. Take counsel, then, with our nuncio Miltitz, and try to persuade the said Elector to consult our dignity and that of our See, and his own honor. Let him crush the rashness of the said Luther, for his erroneous doctrines, now, alas! widely sown among the credulous people, can only be extirpated by your aid and counsel. Your devotion to God, our Savior, whose cause is now at stake, will be a special favor to us, whose chief care is to weed out the tares and cockle from the field of the Lord. You will always find us grateful and propitious to you, as you will learn more fully from Miltitz.[398]

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397) Smith, *l. c.* I, 125 ff.
398) Smith, *l. c.* I, 127 f.

At the same time Rome was fortifying its position doctrinally. Luther had declared that a clear decision on the virtue of indulgences was necessary to convince him that he was wrong. Leo X now proceeded to furnish that decision. On November 9 he issued the bull *Cum Postquam*.[399] Without naming Luther, the bull condemned the errors which were being spread by certain monks and preachers concerning indulgences. Lest any one should pretend ignorance regarding this matter or seek to shield himself by a protestation or appeal to a higher tribunal, the bull declared that on the basis of the treasure which the Church controlled in the form of merits of Christ and the saints, indulgences could be sold for the purpose of securing immunity from punishments exacted by the righteousness of God for the living and the dead, and that this had always been the traditional teaching of the Roman Church, the mother of all the other churches, whom all were bound to follow. The bull decreed that all who taught differently must be excommunicated. Miltitz gave the Elector a written statement on January 11, 1519, that the bull was issued exclusively for the purpose of putting a quietus to Luther.[400] Luther was thus notified that henceforth he could no longer claim that his teaching was permissible since the Church had decided nothing to the contrary. The bull was published by Cajetan at Linz on December 13; Luther did not see it until January.

Garbled and false reports were meanwhile circulated regarding his conferences with Cajetan. This induced Luther to prepare an elaborate account of the proceedings at Augsburg, the *Acta Augustana*. In the preface he says:—

Pardon me, kind reader, for wasting your time so often with my prattle. It is not willingly that I do this; in this

399) XV, 626-633. 400) XV, 694.

instance you may ascribe it to an urgent need. It has pleased Heaven that I should become a by-word of the people. I attribute this to the Lord in this sense that I nevertheless put the blame on the people who have such godly ears that their heart, mouth, and actions are inflamed with the maddest impiety by the sweet and heavenly truth.

For a long time they vexed Johann Reuchlin, calling him a secret counselor; now they vex me as a questioning disputant, and will tolerate neither consultations nor disputations. I anticipate that in their abominable idleness they will even assault people for dreaming dreams and for thinking. Who is safe from the teeth of these monstrous wild animals, since they devour even those who publicly ask to be informed? Good God! what a new and wonderful crime this is, to desire instruction and to seek after the truth, and that, within the Church, the domain of truth, where an answer is to be given to every one that asks a reason, of the hope that is in us.[401]

Now, my affair, dear reader, is this: I see that books are being published, and rumors are spreading, regarding my doings at Augsburg, although I did nothing there but waste time and money, unless this might be called an achievement, that I learned a new Latin language there, *viz.*, teaching the truth is the same as destroying the Church, while acting the hypocrite and denying Christ is the same as seeking the peace and prosperity of the Church. If you do not understand this rhetoric, you may surpass Cicero in eloquence, but I do not see how you can be anything else than a barbarian to the Romans and they to you.

Therefore, lest my friends exaggerate the affair or my enemies detract from its importance, I wish to make public herewith what was said to me at Augsburg and what I answered. At the same time I wish to make it plain by this testimony that I have rendered more than a zealous and faithful obedience to the Pope.

A detailed account of Luther's conferences with Cajetan follows. The breves of Leo X and Luther's letters to Cajetan are embodied in the treatise. New points in this argument of Luther with Rome are the open charge, now proved by a number of instances, that Rome perverts Scripture, and the denial that the papacy belongs to the essence of the Church. Luther maintains that a person can be in the Church and yet refuse to believe that the papacy exists by divine right.[402]

A perplexing situation had been created for the Elector by the letters of Cajetan and Leo X. There is no

401) 1 Pet. 3, 15. 402) XV, 612 ff.

doubt that the Elector was Luther's friend and followed his work at the university and his writings with deep interest. Luther's letters to Spalatin were, as a rule, read by the Elector. But the Elector had no intention to break with the Church and cut loose from old traditions. The Church in his belief was Rome, and Rome had just served notice on him that it considered Luther an enemy of the Church. The Elector's *forte* was to create delays. It is questionable whether he ever considered anything fully ripe for action. Spalatin reports a current saying that this Elector never came to a conclusion. He would dictate a letter and revise it twenty and more times, and in the end decide not to send it. Many a hot-headed proposition in which he was to become involved was thus made to simmer down to an innocent wish, or even changed to its opposite by his Fabian policy. The first thing that the Elector did with Cajetan's letter was to forward it to Luther, who was thus given an opportunity to tell his side of the matter, and was glad to do so. He wrote the Elector a lengthy letter on the same day that Cajetan's letter had been handed to him.[403] The letter is virtually a treatise on the Cardinal's theology. Portions of this letter have already been reproduced in our account of Luther's conferences with Cajetan. In his letter sent to the Elector Luther enclosed one to Spalatin, in which he says:—

In this letter I am writing our most gracious Elector a more exhaustive and clearer account of the events of my tragical visit at Augsburg than I recently gave you. The messenger whom I found in my room when I entered was urgent, and I did not want to let him depart without an answer, though it was written in the greatest hurry and poorly penned. You will have to see to it now that the Elector either reads or hears my letter.

To what extent the reverend Legate is versed in the Scriptures you can see from his second objection,[404] to which I

403) XV, 637 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 284 ff.

404) In Cajetan's letter to the Elector: the passage refers to the extravagant *Unigenitus*.

have replied. Besides, I heard from him statements altogether untheological; some of them I should pronounce the greatest heresies, if another had made them: I perceive that all members of the Dominican order are of the same mind, that is, not one of them is a Christian. Now this Cardinal is lauded by the Dominicans as the prince of princes in their doctrinal system, while they regard Silvester as the next after him. You know Silvester; now reflect what the quality of the person whom they consider the tenth or the hundredth in rank must be, if the second and the first are such as they are. I might almost become inflated, if I were not moved with pity for these men who have so shamefully wasted their time and lost the labor of their studies, learning nothing but the most miserable ignorance. So utterly has Christ, the true light of men, been banished, and Aristotle, the darkness of men, and that, the most appalling, has held sway. To speak with the Scriptures then, I have met two lions of Moab; [405] shall I be afraid of Moab's hares? Long live Christ [406] Amen.

I pray you, ascertain for me whether the Elector could not write to the Pope to transfer my case to Germany. Not that I am concerned for myself; for I regret that a miserable person like me is not worthy to suffer an exceptionally great misfortune in behalf of the truth, although by this journey to Augsburg I have rushed into dangers and calamities enough to tempt Providence. But I am concerned about our university. [407]

There are many Pharaohs among the Dominicans, especially since this Pope has acceded to his exalted position; they have obtained from him a condemnation of the Council of Basle, as the Cardinal himself boasted to me. Therefore they will shrink from nothing. May God resist them! Amen. [408]

Luther closed his letter to the Elector with these words:—

Lest evil should befall your gracious Lordship (which I desire least of all), behold, I shall leave your country and go whithersoever it may please the merciful God to lead me, and I shall entrust myself to His divine will, come what may. For nothing is farther from me than to wish that any person, least of all your gracious Lordship, should be involved in disfavor or danger.

Therefore, most gracious Elector, I offer you my reverent salutation and simply say farewell to you, rendering endless thanks to you for all the favors you have bestowed on me. Wherever I may be, I shall never forget your Grace, and shall constantly pray for your welfare and that of your family. [409]

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405) 2 Sam. 23, 20. 406) Vivat, vivat, vivat Christus!
407) Luther now explains that the young school is to be destroyed as Pharaoh destroyed the Hebrew infants. (*Leipz. Debate*, p. 51.)
408) XV, 2419 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 281.
409) XV, 633; Erl., *l. c.* I, 299.

The seriousness of the situation is reflected in a petition of the university on November 23, in which all the faculties plead with the Elector not to sacrifice Luther, who has helped to put the university in such a flourishing condition:—

Most illustrious and clement Prince, that venerable man, Brother Martin Luther, M. A., D. D., a noble and most famous member of our university, has related to us what the Very Reverend Legate Cardinal Cajetan has written to your Highness; namely, that he urges you to send the said Luther to Rome or to exile him from your territories, on account of certain propositions debated by him and long ago offered to the Supreme Pontiff. Luther adds that he offered to debate publicly or to give a private answer in writing, and that he prayed that his errors might be pointed out to him in writing, with the reasons and authorities from Scripture and the holy fathers added, so that by their light he might perceive his errors; that none of these requests, however, were granted, but he was simply ordered to retract what he had said wrongly. Nor was the care of the faithful shepherd shown to him, for the shepherd is bound to give a reason to every one asking it, and is even commanded to teach willing and unwilling alike, in season and out of season.

Therefore Luther has asked and obtained that we should intercede with your Highness, and should beg that your Most Illustrious Highness should deign to write to the legate or even to the Pope, and graciously to intervene, requesting that the articles and points of his errors should be shown him in writing, and that reasons and authorities should be given, so that he may know that he has erred and thus recant, not being forced to condemn opinions before he knows that they should be condemned. It was the ancient custom of the Church, as the examples of the Fathers show, to urge the correction of error by reason and authority, and not to condemn by mere assertion the sayings of any one . . . . [410]

On November 25, in the letter to Langenmantel at Augsburg, to which we referred before, Luther attributes the predicament which has arisen for him to the plotting of Cajetan:—

He has advised the Elector to send me to the City or into exile, and not to tarnish his glory for the sake of one little brother. Thus did the Jews act against Christ before Pilate, wishing the latter to believe them before they brought forward definite charges. Thus does Cajetan shout: "May your most illustrious Lordship believe me; I speak from certain knowledge,

410) XV, 682; Smith, *l. c.* I, 131.

not from mere opinion. I will keep the rule of Christ" (which I understand to be the rule of the violated Christ, for he asks nothing else than to violate the truth). That golden rose which rumor said is being sent to the Elector is nowhere, nor has the Elector heard anything of it. I see that the Romans are determined to condemn me. I, on the other hand, am determined not to yield. So I await their censures. The Lord will be my Counselor and Helper. If they kill me, they will cease pursuing a dead flea.[411] I answered the letter of the Lord Legate of which the Elector sent me a copy, and I asked him to enclose my answer in his reply to the legate. My *Acta Augustana* are now being published, for the Elector had so far persuaded me not to publish them.[412]

About this time a meeting must have taken place between Luther, Spalatin, and the Elector, of which Luther writes to Staupitz December 13:—

The Elector is greatly concerned about me; he would that I were at another place. I was summoned to Lichtenberg about this business, and the Elector sent Spalatin for a long conference with me. I said: If the condemnation arrives, I shall not remain. He dissuaded me from going to France at once. I am still waiting for his advice.[413]

To Spalatin Luther wrote November 25:—

I am daily expecting the bull of excommunication from Rome. Accordingly, I am disposing of everything and putting my affairs in order, so as to be ready and girt for travel when it comes, like Abraham, not knowing whither I go, yet quite certain, because God is everywhere. I shall leave you at least a farewell letter. See whether you will dare to read a letter from one who has been cursed and excommunicated.[414]

This resolution Luther was on the point of carrying out on December 1, when a letter from Spalatin stopped him. He writes his friend December 2:—

Had not your letter come yesterday, I should already have left, and I am yet prepared for either alternative. The solicitude of our people for me is remarkable and greater than I myself can bear.[415] Some urge me greatly to give myself into the Elector's custody, for him to keep me somewhere, so that he could write the legate that I was being kept in a safe place,[416]

411) 1 Sam. 24, 14.
412) XXIa, 119; Erl., *l. c.* I, 306; Smith, *l. c.* I, 123.
413) XV, 2429; Erl., *l. c.* I, 319.
414) XV, 2427; Erl., *l. c.* I, 304.
415) Luther had dropped remarks in a sermon about his impending departure; see letter to Spalatin of December 9.
416) This was actually done in 1521, when Luther was hidden at the Wartburg.

to be presented for examination. I leave this plan to your wisdom; I am in the hands of God and of my friends.

People believe it to be certain that the Elector is on my side, together with the university, as I recently learned from one who, I know, will not lie to me. In the court of the Bishop of Brandenburg they lately discussed on whose fidelity and loyalty I might be relying. Some one said: "Erasmus, Capito, and other learned men favor him." "No," replied the bishop, "these men are nothing to the Pope; it is the University of Wittenberg and the Elector of Saxony that really count." So I know it is commonly believed that the Elector is with me; this displeases them. As to the university, I could wish indeed that they would be afraid of it as much as possible. But this suspicion cast upon the Elector will compel me to withdraw, if necessary, although the Elector in his writings may urge the point that as a layman he is unable to judge of such matters, especially as he sees that a university approved by the Church does not contradict me. But these are incidentals. If I stay here, I shall not have much freedom of writing and speaking;[417] if I go, I will pour out everything and offer my life to Christ.[418]

Cyprian has embodied in his *Urkunden* the account of Bavarus that Luther had invited his brethren to a farewell repast at which a letter from Spalatin was delivered to him, stating that the Elector was surprised that Luther had not yet started on his journey, and urging him to hasten his departure. Luther is said to have become very sad and to have declared himself forsaken by all, but to have promptly taken heart again and exclaimed: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."[419] Soon, however, another messenger is said to have arrived, while they were still at meat, and in this letter Spalatin—so the report runs—had stated that if Luther had not yet departed, he was to remain; for Miltitz had declared that his case could be settled by a disputation. This account is unreliable, as the reference to Miltitz—not to

417) Already at Augsburg the Elector had been displeased with some of Luther's publications, and now he tried to stop the publication of the *Acta Augustana*.
418) XV, 688; Erl., *l. c.* I, 368; Smith, *l. c.* I, 134.
419) Ps. 27, 10.

mention other features—shows; for Miltitz did not reach Saxony till Christmas of that year. A week later Luther writes to Spalatin:—

What your letter forbade me to do is already done. With much freedom of the truth my *Acta Augustana* are already published, however, not the entire treatise; for I see that in this as in all other things I must hurry. I heard yesterday from Nuernberg that Charles von Miltitz is on the way and has three papal breves authorizing him to arrest me and deliver me to the Pope. They say a trustworthy person has seen the breves. That doctor of Eisleben[420] who, with Philip von Feilitzsch, stood by me before the legate at Augsburg, has warned me through our Prior[421] to take care; he said that on a journey he had heard a certain courtier assert that he had promised to deliver me to the Pope. I hear other things also, and no matter whether they are true or merely invented to frighten me, I do not think they are to be despised. Therefore, lest they should kill me unexpectedly or crush me with their censures, I am waiting in all readiness for the plan of God. I have even appealed to a future council. The more they rage and seek my life, the less I am afraid. Sometime I shall be free against these Roman hydras.

What you have heard about my saying farewell to the people of Wittenberg is false; I said this: "I am an uncertain and unsettled preacher, as you have found out. How often have I left you suddenly without bidding you good-bye! If the same thing should ever happen again, in case I do not come back, I wish to say farewell to you." Then I warned them not to be afraid of the future papal censures against me, and not to blame the Pope or any mortal for them, or wish any one evil, but to commit the affair to God, and the like. I lecture and teach as before.[422]

Practically, then, Luther had said good-bye to the Wittenbergers. Melanchthon had decided to leave with Luther.[423]

On the day after this letter (Saturday before the 3d Sunday in Advent) Luther published the appeal to which he refers in this letter. It had been drawn up November 28 before a notary at the Corpus Christi chapel on the

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420) Counselor Johann von Ruehel, from Luther's home town, Mansfeld.

421) Conrad Helt of Nuernberg, since 1518 a rather lax prior of the Augustinian convent at Wittenberg, which he left in February, 1522.

422) XV, 2434 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 314 f.; Smith, *l. c.* 8, 136.

423) *C. R.* suppl. ed. Bindseil, p. 4.

town cemetery. In this document, which is almost a copy of the appeal taken by the University of Paris on March 27, 1518, Luther appeals from the ill informed Pope and the judges appointed by him to a future council.[424]

To Link he wrote the same day:—

I have sent you letters and am now sending one again, but the messengers are so rare and unreliable that I doubt whether you receive them. I have the confidence that by the present messenger I shall reach you.[425] A rumor has reached me about three apostolic breves against me which have been given to Miltitz. Magister Caspar learned this from your letters, and in overgreat anxiety for me sent me the information by a special messenger. Behold, I am sending you my *Acta Augustana*, which have been issued in somewhat stronger language than his Lordship the Legate may have expected. But my pen is pregnant with still greater things. I do not know whence these thoughts come to me: this affair, as I view it, has barely begun, and it is far from a speedy ending for which the Roman grandees hope. I shall send you my trifles that you may see whether my conjecture is right that the true antichrist, as Paul depicts him,[426] is ruling at the papal Curia. I believe that I am able to prove that he is worse than the Turk.

I am greatly displeased with our printer,[427] who has published my appeal to a council; but it is done. I wanted to keep the prints in my room, but God's thoughts were different. Everywhere my pursuers are barking at me awfully, but they accomplish nothing . . . . I am also sending you other trifles of my pen, *viz.*, my answer to the letter of the Legate, however, on condition that after you have read all you send it to the reverend father vicar. I am expecting my murderers from Rome or some other place. I am wondering why the excommunication is delayed.

The letter closes with the announcement of the happy death of the provost of Kemberg, who succumbed to the pest, with greetings to the friends at Nuernberg, and with an estimate of Eck.[428] In a postscript Luther adds:—

At first the Elector preferred not to have me at this place, but afterwards he insisted that I must remain. What he thinks now that the *Acta* and my appeal have been published I do not know. For it was he that delayed their publication a long time, and even when they had been printed, he wanted them sup-

424) See Appendix.
425) Complaints of this sort are frequent in Luther's correspondence at this time. 426) 2 Thess. 2, 3 ff. 427) Johann Gruenenberg.
428) See *Leips. Debate.* p. 51.

pressed. But that could not be done, even if I had wished it. He is now holding a conference at Jena to decide upon the answer that is to be given the Legate regarding the Turkish war tax. I don't know whether it would be good for you to show my appeal to many, although it is quite public hereabout.[429]

By this time Luther had received a copy of the answer which the Elector on December 8 had written to Cajetan to the effect that he could not regard Luther as a heretic convicted, and hence considered the Cardinal's demand of a recantation premature. Another delay! Though the Elector had sent a warning to Luther not to commit any new provocations, Luther was full of joy over this act of the Elector. On December 20 he writes to Spalatin:—

Neither my plan nor yours has succeeded, my dear Spalatin. For I, too, had given orders for the printing of my appeal, but had arranged with the printer that he was not to sell any copies, but deposit all in my room after receiving payment from me. My plan was that, after I had left, this publication should be ready for circulation in any place that the furies of my sentence from Rome might reach. But the good man, thinking only of his profit, had nearly sold out the stock while I was waiting that he should turn it over to me; I was the last person to learn that the appeal had been published. I was very indignant, but it was done, and I could not render it undone. Likewise the *Acta* were finished, except the last form; when your injunction arrived, it had gotten into the hands of many persons, so eager the people are after everything I publish, even if it is but a page of printed matter. Since the rest had been issued, I could not withhold the last form. Otherwise, doubt not, I should have given your advice the preference, and should have been in a safer position. You know I have done this on previous occasions.

Now that I have read the excellent letter of our gracious Elector to the reverend Legate, I am still more sorry that these two writings were published. Good God! with what joy did I read the Elector's letter over and over again; for I perceived that it was full of hearty defiance, and yet seasoned with excellent modesty. I am afraid the Italians will not understand its intended meaning; for they are a class of people who are impressed with the external appearance and showiness of writings as well as of things in general. But this much at least they will perceive that they have not even begun the business which

429) XV, 2430 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 316 f.

they thought to have finished. It is impossible that the letter should not utterly displease them. Accordingly I pray you for the Lord's sake to put the best construction on the publication of my last writings, which I myself dislike. Express my thanks to the gracious Elector, and be at pains to extol my joy and gratitude to him. It is a splendid feat to teach a man who not so long ago was a mendicant friar like myself and now has dared to approach the mightiest princes without any show of reverence, to address them, threaten them, issue commands to them, and treat them in haughtiest fashion according to his pleasure—I say, it is a splendid feat to teach such a man that the secular power, too, is from God, and that its honor may not be trodden under foot, least of all by a person who derives his authority only from other men. It gives me extraordinary pleasure that the Elector has shown such a very patient and prudent impatience. May the Lord make it plain that all these things, whatever they may mean, are His, and may He acknowledge them as His own. Amen.[430]

How far the news of Luther's plight at Wittenberg had spread we can gather from the following letter which Capito at Basle wrote to Luther February 18, 1519:—

Switzerland and the Rhine country as far as the ocean are solid for Luther, and his friends in these regions are both powerful and learned. Recently, when it was rumored that you were in danger, Cardinal Matthew Schinner, the Count of Geroldseck,[431] and a certain learned and much honored bishop,[432] and not a few of our other friends,[433] promised you not only financial support, but a refuge, in which you might either hide or live openly. When it was noised abroad that you were laboring in great difficulty, some men tried to send you a large sum of money through me, and they certainly would have done so. But this evening we received golden news, that Luther lives and will live always. Then we saw a copy of the illustrious and truly princely Elector's answer to Cardinal Cajetan, by which we know that you do not need our aid. But if we can do anything, we certainly will.[434]

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430) XV, 2432; Erl., *l. c.* I, 323.

431) Diebolt III von Geroldseck of Suabia, administrator of the cloister of Einsiedeln, a dear friend of Zwingli, with whom he died at the battle of Kappel, October 11, 1531.

432) Christopher von Uttenheim, Bishop of Basle 1502-1526, when he resigned, dying the next year.

433) Including Zwingli, thinks Kalkoff. *C. R.* XCIV, 403, note 1.

434) Smith, *l. c.* I, 163 f.

25. The Conference at Altenburg.

The mission of Miltitz to which Luther refers in the letters noted in the preceding chapter represents a change of method, not of purpose, on the part of Rome. The Dominican order, hitherto prominent in Rome's dealing with Luther, is pushed aside now that the Pope's chamberlain, virtually a layman from the Saxon nobility, is entrusted with the business of getting Luther. He was indeed placed under Cajetan's supervision in a general way, but was given great freedom of action. In 1515 he had gone to Rome to purchase relics for the Elector, and had dropped a hint at the Curia that the Elector would be highly pleased if the Pope were to favor him with the golden rose. The faithful memory of the Roman diplomats now suggested the bestowal of this distinction as highly opportune, and the Saxon nobleman, whose fidelity to the Pope was unquestioned, seemed a veritable godsend for this mission.

Supplied with abundant documents for every emergency that might arise in Luther's transfer to Rome, and carrying the glittering bauble that was to entice the Elector, he started on his journey. Himself a German, he felt at home among the Germans, and engaged freely in conversations with them along his route. He soon discovered that the monk whom he was to arrest was the people's man, and the Dominicans, the indulgence-traffic, in a word, Rome rule, was detested by his countrymen. He learned to know, not only the religious grievances of scandalized Christians, but also the quiet resolves of the "Deutsche Michel" who had nearly worn out his patience with his Italian taskmasters. It is possible that the German patriot in Miltitz's bosom, who had gone to sleep in the Italian climate, awoke during these conversations.

Miltitz forgot his character: over the wine-cup, at the board of rich patricians, at the castles of noblemen, he dropped his diplomatic reserve and entertained his hosts freely with spicy anecdotes of high life at the Roman court. When he saw that the Germans loved to hear these tales, he dispensed them more liberally as he proceeded northward, and exaggerated not a little for effect. Moreover, he discovered that the Germans had just grounds of complaint against the indulgence-mongers. The books of the trade were shown him at the palace of the Fuggers at Augsburg, and he made memoranda of questionable transactions of Tetzel. While his foreman Cajetan was still tarrying at Linz, Miltitz spent some time with Pfeffinger at the latter's estates in Franconia, and the old Saxon counselor gave him a very illuminating account of the attitude of the Saxon court and the Saxon people towards Luther. By the time that he was ready to start for Saxony, Miltitz was convinced that he must entirely change his tactics. He left the golden rose and sundry other beautiful bribes in the form of special indulgences for bishops, secretaries, magistrates, etc., with the Fuggers, and conceived the plan to have Luther's case arbitrated. To create a favorable impression for himself, immediately upon his arrival in Saxony near the end of December, he summoned Tetzel, who was at Leipzig at that time, to appear before him at Altenburg; but Tetzel pleaded that it was not safe for him to undertake the journey.[435] This procedure of Miltitz and everything else that he did was irregular, because he had not been authorized to negotiate peace with Luther, but to arrest him. But the reports which Miltitz sent to Rome about the state of the German mind, and the hope that he held out to the Pope of achieving his end

435) See *Leips. Debate*, p. 159 f.

ultimately by concessions and blandishments, induced the Curia to give him *carte blanche* for his dealings with Luther. Rome thus threw over its tried and trusted champions Tetzel, Wimpina, the Frankfort theologians who had manufactured a D. D. out of this religious mountebank spite of his known unsavory reputation, the three hundred friars who had migrated to the university on the Oder to inaugurate a frenzied demonstration for their brother, the Master of the Palace Prierias, and last, not least, the great Thomist *lumen mundi* Cajetan. A worse humiliation for the Dominican order it is not easy to imagine. They were the price which the church politicians on the Tiber paid for the suppression of one Augustinian "fratello." Such is Rome; wonderfully pliant in its methods, inexorable and ruthless in its purposes.

The Saxon court, though not trusting Miltitz, was impressed with his maneuvers, and when Miltitz invited Luther to a conference at Altenburg in January, the Elector detailed Spalatin and Feilitzsch to act as Luther's advisers. Two conferences took place either on January 4 and 5, or 5 and 6. Miltitz received Luther with a pleasantry, and then launched into a moving tale about the sad disturbance of the peace of the Church which he had observed everywhere, and pleaded for the restoration of peace. If this were not established soon, he hinted that the horrors of the Hussite War might be repeated in Germany. He wept over the division of the Church by the controveries of her theologians. This last thought appealed to Luther. He knew of the Elector's perplexity. Spalatin and Feilitzsch were delegated to help him bring about an understanding with Rome. Luther was, therefore, inclined to go a far way to meet any possible proposition for settling the strife,

always, however, *salva veritate,* without prejudice to the divine truth.

There is a protocol embodying the points in controversy to which the conversations of Miltitz with the Elector and afterwards with Luther were reduced:—

1. The people have been misled into a wrong opinion concerning indulgences.

2. Luther is the author of these errors and the misleader.

3. Dr. Johann Tetzel has given Luther occasion for his attack on indulgences.

4. The Bishop of Magdeburg (Mainz) has engaged Tetzel for this business, and has urged him on in order to make money.

5. Johann Tetzel has gone too far in his traffic.

Luther's rejoinder to these points was:—

Nobody is more at fault in causing such dissension and discord regarding indulgences than His Holiness the Pope himself. Accordingly, this serious charge of disobedience to the Church should be raised against the Pope alone. For the Pope, by reason of his office, either should have forbidden and prohibited the Bishop of Magdeburg to seek after so many bishoprics for himself, or should have bestowed them upon the latter gratis, just as the Pope has received them from the Lord.

Inasmuch, then, as the Pope has fostered the bishop's ambition and gratified his own greed by charging so many thousand gulden for pallia, that is, for bishops' cloaks, and for dispensations, he has forced the Bishop of Magdeburg to market indulgences, and in this way has given occasion for skinning Christ's people most shamefully by the indulgence traffic. The Pope connived at this, and thus approved the bishop's transactions, thus rendering himself guilty of a third sin.

The bishop, in his predicament, was forced to engage a knave like Tetzel, who had for many years practised the profession of scraping together money by squeezing, skinning, and flaying the people, and hence was a past-master in his profession, though worthless for anything else.

Finally, this same Johann Tetzel, in order to realize the bishop's hopes and desires, at the same time not forgetting to take care of his own interests, has skimmed and refined the virtue of indulgences to such an extent, that is, he has so highly lauded and extolled them, that they are being abominated throughout the world.

It was then that I first grew impatient at the miserable deception and tyranny practised upon the poor people, and still more at the greed of the Florentines, who persuaded the kind, simple Pope to anything they pleased, and urged him into all sorts of misfortune and danger. For experience has shown that you can satisfy their shameful greed and money-madness less than you could fill hell's maw. Since an occasion and a great just cause was thus presented to me for attacking the greed of the Romanists, I did not propose to let it pass by, and therefore have published my former treatises against indulgences, and shall publish others.[436]

We can gather the result of the first conference with Miltitz from the letter which Luther wrote to the Elector from Altenburg January 5 or 6:—

It overwhelms me to think how far your Grace has been drawn into my troublesome affair; but as necessity and God so dispose it, I beg your Grace to be favorable still.

Charles von Miltitz yesterday stressed to me the dishonor which has been criminally inflicted by me on the Roman Church, and I humbly promised to make what amends I could. I beg your Grace to take under consideration the plan which I herewith submit, for I would like to do something to please your Grace.

First, I would promise to let this matter rest and bleed to death, provided my adversaries also keep silence; for I hold that, if my writings had not been attacked, all would have become quiet long ago. The song would now be at an end and everybody tired of the singing. I also fear that if this plan is not adopted and I am attacked further by violent measures or speech, the really great explosion is still to come, and this nasty business will lead to something serious; for I still have my entire ammunition. Therefore I deem it best to call a halt in this affair.

Secondly, I would write to His Holiness, the Pope, express to him my humble submission, and confess that I have been too hot and sharp, but did not mean to attack the Holy Roman Church. I only meant to state the cause which drove me as a faithful son of the Church into my opposition, *viz.*, the blasphemous preaching from which such ridicule, slander, and dishonor has resulted to the Roman Church and such scandals to the people.

Thirdly, I would publish a statement admonishing everybody to follow, obey, and show reverence to the Roman Church, and to interpret my writings not to the dishonor, but to the honor, of the Holy Roman Church. I would also confess that I had brought the truth to light with overgreat zeal and perhaps at an inopportune time. For if the cause had not been so great, I

436) XV, 692 f.

would have been satisfied if we were only shown the difference between indulgences and good works.

Fourthly, upon the suggestion of Master Fabian Feilitzsch, Magister Spalatin has proposed that my case be submitted to the very reverend Archbishop of Salzburg and some learned, unsuspected gentlemen, whose decision I am to accept, or have recourse to my appeal if the decision should not be acceptable to me. Thus the matter might perhaps remain undecided and collapse in itself. But I fear the Pope will not allow another to judge the case, and then I shall not tolerate the Pope's judgment. Accordingly, if the first plan fails, we shall have to go through the farce of the Pope's writing the text and my writing the commentary. That would do no good. I have also suggested this to Master Carl, *viz.*, that this would be insufficient. Still he has not demanded that I recant, but we parted with the understanding that we would consider the matter further. If your Grace knows of anything else that I could do, I pray, for God's sake, that you will tell me. I shall gladly do everything and suffer everything to avoid further disputes. For recant I shall not.[437]

Luther drafted a letter that he intended to send to the Pope, and showed the draft to Miltitz.[438] It was couched in very humble terms, but yielded no point that the Curia considered essential. Miltitz found a courteous reason why it would not be necessary at all for Luther to send the letter.

The result of the next day's conference (January 6 or 7) Luther communicates to the Elector in the following note:—

I humbly inform your Grace that Master Carl von Miltitz and I have reached this final agreement to end my case upon these two conditions:

First, a general inhibition is to be issued against both parties forbidding either party to preach, write about or discuss the matter any further.

Secondly, Master Carl von Miltitz will briefly write the Holy Father concerning the situation as he has found it, and induce His Holiness to delegate some learned bishop to investigate the case, and point out teachings that are erroneous and that I am to recant. Then, after I have been convinced of my error, I shall gladly recant, and not weaken the honor and authority of the Holy Roman Church.[439]

437) XV, 696 ff.; Erl. Ed. 53, 5 ff.; comp. Smith, *Life*, etc., p. 54 f.
438) XV, 706 f.
439) XV, 698; Erl. Ed. 53, 7; Smith, *Life*, etc., p. 56.

After the conclusion of the conference there was a pleasant gathering for the evening meal, and when Luther departed, Miltitz embraced and kissed him. On January 10 Luther was in Wittenberg again; in his letters to friends he relates the events at the Altenburg conference as follows:—

Let me tell you briefly, my dear Egranus, the state of my affairs. Carl von Miltitz has been sent to our Elector, armed with more than seventy apostolic breves which were given him that he might take me alive and in chains to Jerusalem, the den of murderers,[440] that is, to Rome; but on his way he was stricken down by the Lord,[441] that is, he became terrified at the multitude of those favoring my cause. Having everywhere explored the people's opinion concerning me, he changed his plans of violence into a very wily, deceptive benevolence, and had long conferences with me, urging me to recant my statements, out of respect for the Roman Church. I gave him an answer to this effect: Let the form of the recantation be written down and the cause of the error be stated, but let it be done in a manner that appeals to the common people and to the learned, lest greater hatred be kindled against Rome by a recantation that is not convincing.

Finally, we reached an agreement regarding the bishops, either the one of Salzburg or that of Trier, one of whom was to arbitrate my case, and thus we parted as friends, even with a kiss, to-wit, a Judas kiss: [442] Miltitz even shed tears while he was pleading with me. On my part, I acted as if I did not understand these crocodile tears. That is as far as we proceeded. What they may now do at Rome I do not know.

Carl, indeed, remarked that within a hundred years there had not been a case that had so worried the crowd of loafing cardinals and Rome-worshiping Romanists,[443] and that they would rather give ten thousand ducats [444] than let this affair go on. I rejoice and commit everything to God.[445]

To Staupitz Luther writes (February 20, 1519):—

Carl Miltitz met me at Altenburg and complained that I had attached the whole world to myself and drawn it away from the Pope. He had made inquiries at every hostelry, and had found out that out of five men hardly three or two favored the Roman party. He was armed with seventy apostolic breves to expedite his business, that is, to take me captive and bring

440) Matt. 23, 37. 441) Acts 9, 4.

442) Scheurl writes to Eck, February 18: "Miltitz, in the presence of the court, kissed and embraced Luther like a familiar friend."

443) He had made the same statement at Nuernberg, as Scheurl writes Luther December 22. Erl., *l. c.* I, 335.

444) $25,000. 445) XV, 2441; Erl., *l. c.* I, 408; Smith, *l. c.* I, 160.

me to man-slaying Jerusalem, that scarlet woman, the great Babylon,[446] as I learned afterwards at the Elector's court. When he had given this plan up in despair, he began to urge me with kindness that I should restore to the Roman Church what I had taken from her, and should recant.

I asked him to name the points that I was to recant. Finally we agreed to submit the case to some bishops. I named the Archbishop of Salzburg, [447] that of Trier, and that of Freisingen. In the evening he received me; we were cheerful at supper, and he dismissed me with a kiss. I acted as if I did not understand these hypocritical Italian artifices. He also summoned Tetzel and upbraided him. Finally, at Leipzig, he convicted him of having appropriated ninety florins for his monthly salary and for having kept three mounted attendants and a carriage which did not cost him a penny. Now this Tetzel has disappeared, and no one knows whither he has gone, unless he is with his fathers [the Dominicans].[448]

Twenty-six years later (March 5, 1545) Luther refers once more to this episode in his early reformatory activity, in the preface to the first part of his Latin Works, and says:—

Miltitz conferred much with me to bring about a reconciliation with the Pope. He had seventy apostolic breves, one to be posted in each city through which he would pass on his way to Rome, if the Elector should deliver me to him; for that was the Pope's object in giving the rose to the Elector. But he betrayed the design of his heart when he said to me: "O Martin, I thought that you were an old theologian, stricken in years and sitting behind a stove arguing with himself; now I see that you are young in years and in full vigor. If I had twenty-five thousand armed men, I would not attempt to bring you to Rome. For everywhere on my way hither I have been exploring the minds of the people to learn what they think of you. Behold, when I found one siding with the Pope, there were three siding with you against the Pope. Some laughable things occurred to him: he was exploring even the women and damsels in the inns, asking them what they thought of the Roman Chair.[449] But since they did not know the meaning of this word and imagined that he was speaking of an ordinary chair, they said: How can we know what kind of chairs you have at Rome, wooden chairs or stone chairs? [450]

446) Rev. 17, 4.
447) Matthaeus Lang, whom Luther chose because Lang had in Reuchlin's controversy sided with the latter and the Humanists, and because Staupitz was at his court. However, at this time Lang had not become archbishop yet; he was only coadjutor bishop.
448) XV, 2443 f. Erl., *l. c.* I, 430 f.
449) That is, see; German: "der roemische Stuhl."
450) XIV, 445.

26. Luther's Apology.

After Luther had departed, Miltitz continued his negotiations with the Elector. On January 11 he submitted an opinion which the Elector had requested, as to what might be done to restore Luther to the Pope's grace. He specified five points:—

1. Luther was to sue pardon of the Roman Church and recant what he had said against the Church and the Pope's practise, "as he and I have agreed that he should."

2. If Luther objects to this, the Elector might forbid him to preach any more forever.

3. Luther might be called before the Elector and Miltitz, who would then jointly persuade him, chiefly by means of the Elector's authority, to make some promise to the Church, and the three together might select a foreign judge to examine Luther's case.

4. The Elector would do well to reflect on the impossibility of protecting Luther long against the Roman Church; for the late Pope Julius had put down the revolt of nine cardinals, who, with the Roman Emperor and the kings of France, England, Scotland, Burgundy, and Italy, had convoked a council against him. (*Fiat applicatio!*)

5. Luther would not be able after the publication of the bull *Cum Postquam* (a copy of which Miltitz enclosed) to say that he did not know what the Church teaches regarding indulgences.[451]

These statements did not sound as conciliatory as the Elector might have expected on the basis of the brief note in which Luther had informed him of the result of his second conference with Miltitz. The Elector at once

451) XV, 693 f.

turned Miltitz's opinion over to Spalatin for the latter's counter-opinion. Spalatin's answer was submitted the same day:—

1. Miltitz must specify in express terms which of his statements Luther is to recant; otherwise Miltitz might draw up a "recantation" that might be worse than what the legate at Augsburg had demanded. In the whole controversy Luther had contended for only one point, *viz.*, that the merits of our dear Lord and Savior Jesus Christ are our indulgences. The new bull *Cum Postquam* lauds Christ's merits and is not contrary to Luther. Miltitz will have to find a form for the recantation that acknowledges this agreement between Luther and the Pope. Even if Luther should succeed in satisfying Miltitz, no guarantee is given that Cajetan and others will be satisfied. Luther has agreed to have his case submitted to the universities of Freiburg in the Breisgau, Loewen in the Netherlands, Basle, and Paris, or to have the Pope appoint some learned Italians, Frenchmen, and Germans to examine his case at a safe place and to compose all existing differences.

2. Miltitz's suggestion to prohibit Luther from preaching goes too far, and is against the passage: "The Word of God is not bound." [452]

3. Spalatin cannot conceive what the "foreign judge" is to accomplish.

4. Miltitz's fourth point is a plain threat, and suggests an action unworthy of a Pope that wants to be the successor of the humble Peter.

5. Luther will soon make up his mind what to do about the bull *Cum Postquam*.[453]

This document, too, shows little *rapprochement* between the contending parties. Miltitz's proposal had

452) 2 Tim. 2, 9. 453) XV, 695 f.

been submitted also to Luther, who answered it in a letter to the Elector of January 19:—

Humbly to serve your Grace I hereby give you my opinion regarding the articles and measures which have been indicated to me by your Grace to the end of settling the hard business between myself and the Papal See on indulgences.

First, I am ready in all humility to honor the Roman Church and to prefer nothing to her either in heaven or on earth, save God alone and His Word; wherefore I am willing to recant any article proved to me to be erroneous. For it is impossible to recant everything indiscriminately.

Secondly, I would not only submit to, but even hail, the prohibition never to preach or teach again. For I have neither pleasure nor love in doing so, and get neither wealth nor honor by doing it. For I know well that teaching God's Word is intolerable to the world. But I have submitted, and still submit, to God's command and will in this matter.

Thirdly, to have an impartial judge in the matter is all my desire, and also in my favor. And for this function I would name the reverend father in God, the Archbishop of Trier,[454] or the Archbishop of Salzburg, or the serene Lord Bishop Philip of Freisingen and Naumburg.[455]

Fourthly, I have long been impressed with the fact that in Pope Julius' time nine cardinals with all their followers were unable to prevail, and that also emperors and kings were often humiliated; on the other hand, I have been strengthened because I expect confidently that the Roman Church will not and may not suffer the inept and noxious preaching which I pointed out in my Theses; she cannot tolerate or uphold it, nor allow the poor people to be deceived by the specious indulgence.

Moreover, it is small wonder that in these last, bad times one or two men should be crushed, when we consider that in the time of the heretic Arius, when the holy Church was still young and pure, all bishops were driven from their churches, and the heretics, with the support of the Empire throughout the whole world, persecuted the solitary Athanasius. So, if God in those blessed times so tried the Church, I shall not be much surprised if a poor man like myself is suppressed. But the truth remains, and will remain forever.

Fifthly, the new decretal just issued at Rome on the subject of indulgence appears very extraordinary to me. In the first place, it says nothing new. Secondly, it repeats in a dark and difficult form what the other decretals said. Thirdly, it does not repeal the other papal laws on which I founded my arguments, and thus leaves the matter in contradiction. Fourthly (and this is the most important point), it does not, as all other decretals do, cite a single passage of Scripture, of the fathers,

454) Richard von Greiffenklau, Archbishop-Elector 1511-1531.
455) Philip Count Palatine of the Rhine, bishop 1517-1541.

or of the Canon Law or give any reason, but consists of mere words, which teach me nothing and have nothing to do with my request to be heard.

And as the Church is under obligation to give a reason for her doctrine, as St. Peter commands,[456] and as it is frequently forbidden to receive anything not proved, as St. Paul says,[457] I cannot recognize the said decretal as a genuine and sufficient doctrine of the holy Church, and must rather obey God's commands and prohibitions. Still I will not reject it; neither, however, will I adore it.

Moreover, your Grace, nowadays the Scriptures and the ancient teachers are coming to be recognized again, and all the world is beginning to ask, not what has been declared, but why this or that has been declared. I am afraid, therefore, that even though I should accept these mere words and should recant, my action would not only be incredible, but also a mockery and a manifest dishonor shown to the Church. For what the Roman Church declares and teaches without giving a reason therefor, is not supplied with a reason by my recantation.

I can tell your Grace upon my conscience that I would gladly recant, if I were only given a reason why I am in error and they have the truth. If I am to recant without being given a reason, I shall do so with my lips, but shall state at the same time that I believe differently in my heart. That will bring them little honor.[458]

This letter shows that Luther did not take Miltitz seriously. He believed that Miltitz was playing a cunning game with him. Luther acted as if he did not see the snare, and entered into it. He would force Miltitz in the end to reveal his real object.

Miltitz also persuaded the Elector to write a letter to the Pope, requesting the latter to endorse Miltitz's plan of conciliation. The letter was written, but the Elector did not send it; in the last moment he concluded that he would not publicly identify himself to that extent with Luther.[459]

After writing to Archbishop Richard of Trier, asking him to act as judge in Luther's case and to appoint a day for the hearing, Miltitz proceeded to Leipzig, where

456) 1 Pet. 3, 15.
457) 1 Thess. 5, 21.
458) XV, 1727 ff.; Erl. Ed. 53, 61 ff.; excerpts in Smith, *l. c.* I, 153.
459) XV, 709-713.

he administered a crushing rebuke to Tetzel which broke the poor indulgence-vender's heart.[460]

On January 12 Emperor Maximilian died, and Elector Frederic became Regent for northern Germany. Rome's attention was at once averted from Luther to the graver issue of the imperial election, at which the influence and vote of the Elector was of paramount importance. Miltitz hurried to Augsburg to meet Cajetan. On his way thither he called on the Elector, and obtained a promise from him that Luther would be restrained from preaching and writing anything that might fan the smoldering embers of strife into a new flame. The Elector stipulated that Miltitz must do his part to win the Pope over to milder measures against Luther. At this opportune moment the pacifist Scultetus[461] appeared at Wittenberg. Luther writes to Spalatin on February 12:—

I have been to see the reverend Bishop of Brandenburg at Wittenberg. He expostulated with me at length, however, in a friendly manner, why I attempted such great things. I notice that the bishops are becoming wise at last, and recognize that they have failed in their duty towards me, which makes them somewhat ashamed. They call me proud and bold. I did not deny either charge, but they are not the men capable of understanding either what God is or what we are.[462]

Otto Beckmann, who was at Erfurt at this time, wrote to Spalatin February 24:—

I hardly know what to promise about our Eleutherius. I wrote you before that almost every one here approves what should not be approved for the sake of seeming Lutheran, even when they least agree with Luther, as, for example, on the power of the Pope, which can neither be assailed nor diminished by our barking. The common crowd like to hear evil of ecclesiastics, especially in our time, when, for our sins, the clergy has become a byword in society. It is said that recently, while preaching in the Church of St. Peter, he raved I know not what folly about the throne of the Pope and the power of the keys, all

460) See *Leips. Debate*, p. 160 ff.
461) "Auch Scultetus war wieder als Beschwichtigungsbishof zur Stelle." (Hausrath, *l. c.* I, 281.)
462) XV, 2391; Erl., *l. c.* I, 413.

of which was diligently written down by enemies. You would do well to write to Amsdorf to admonish Martin not to speak so angrily without cause in public about the Pope and the other prelates. Some portent is brewing; but may Christ grant that it come not among us. We must go another road. The Church cannot be reformed by our contrivance, if it has to be reformed at all. [!] I write from my heart, knowing that you cherish the honor of the university.[463])

Luther was determined to fulfil the obligation which he had assumed in his conferences with Miltitz. When the provoking Reply of Prierias was shown him as he passed through Leipzig on his return journey from Altenburg, he decided to ignore it. He also proceeded to draw up the statement which he had promised for the information of the common people regarding his position on controverted matters between himself and his opponents. It was published near the end of February.[464]) In this statement Luther approves the invocation of the saints, and only urges that they be not invoked for temporal comforts only. He admits that miracles occur at the graves of the saints, and at the shrines where their relics are preserved. He affirms that there is a purgatory, and that souls of the departed can be aided by the prayers and alms of the living, but he deprecates attempts to give a detailed description of life in purgatory, and to interfere with the providence of God regarding the departed. Indulgences he still declares a remission of ecclesiastical penances and inferior to good works commanded by God. Ordinances of the Church, such as the rules for fasting, he says, are to the divine commandments what straw is compared with gold; they ought to be mitigated by a Christian council; in the meantime, however, Christians should peaceably submit to them. He acknowledges that the Roman Church, in which

463) Smith, *l. c.* I, 166.
464) Unterricht auf etliche Artikel, die ihm von seinen Abgoennern aufgelegt und zugemessen werden. (XV, 699-705.)

Saints Peter and Paul and many thousands of martyrs shed their blood, has been honored by God above all others, and that Christian love and unity forbid us to separate from this Church because of her defects. The exact power of the Pope, he thinks, should be defined by learned men. It can only be a secular power, such as comes to other men by the accident of wealth and a high social station which they inherit, and Christians may submit to it as they submit to others whom fortune has assigned a higher rank.

This statement Luther himself has called his *Apology*. In a letter of March 5, 1519, he writes to Spalatin:—

> You have twice reminded me to make mention of faith and works, and of obedience to the Roman Church in my German Apology. I think that I have done so, although it was published before your warning came. It was never my intention to secede from the Apostolic Roman See; indeed, I am content that the Pope should be called, or even should be, the lord of all. What business is it of mine? For I know that we must honor and tolerate even the Turk because of his power, and because I know, as Peter says,[465] that there is no power save what is ordained of God. But what I am aiming at, because of my faith in Christ, is that they shall not treat and contaminate God's Word as they please. Let the Roman decretals leave us the pure Gospel and they may take all else, I shall not move a hair. What more can I or ought I do? Accordingly, most willingly shall I abide by the agreement, and not introduce any innovations, because this disputation, I hope, is but a disputation, intended only for the learned. My instruction[466] will be sufficient for the laity.[467]

The *Apology* is the weakest of all of Luther's writings during this period. In parts it is altogether disappointing. It reads like a surrender of positions which he had battled for with great ardor and force. It shows the great pressure that was brought to bear on him at this time from all sides. It does not do justice to Luther himself, for on nearly all points which he touches in the

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465) 1 Pet. 2, 13; comp. Rom. 13, 1, which latter passage Luther, no doubt, had in mind. 466) The *Unterricht* just sketched.
467) XV, 2445; Erl., *l. c.* I, 446; Smith, *l. c.* I, 167.

Unterricht he had taken a stronger and truer stand before. It is a compromise measure, and, like all such measures when applied to Christian doctrine, is unsatisfactory. However, while admitting all this, a word must be said, and that an emphatic one, on Luther's real intention in publishing this document. The *Unterricht* is exclusively for laymen whose minds Luther does not want to have confused with intricate questions debated by university professors. He had observed that what the common people caught up from the wrangling of the theologians weakened the spirit of religion in them. Some were filled with doubts, others began to sneer at the Church and holy matters. Something was being taken out of their lives that had been a great support and comfort to them, and no substitute was offered them. This danger Luther wished to meet. We have here an indication of a prominent characteristic of his reformatory method; his conservatism. Luther tore down nothing that still might serve a devout purpose and not contradict Scripture. Those who have found in the *Apology* a recantation have read something into it that Luther did not put there. He has weakened, but not surrendered his position. Whether he was wise in doing this, remains a question for debate. Nor have those taken the right measure of Luther who see in the *Apology* an evidence that Luther could also compromise doctrinal matters. The principal, if not the only, value of this document is the evidence which it affords to what extremes Luther was willing to go in order to bring about an understanding with his opponents. For that, he hoped, would come as a result of his *Unterricht*.

The next months in Luther's life are taken up with the preparations for the Leipzig Debate and the debate itself, which has been described in detail in our monograph on this event.

Miltitz's efforts soon came to naught. Greiffenklau wished to meet Luther at the Diet which Emperor Maximilian had called for March. When this date was changed to June, Luther could not come because of the debate with Eck. Besides, the imperial election was beginning to overshadow everything. Miltitz tried nevertheless to effect a meeting with Greiffenklau at Coblenz, and sent Luther a summons, which Luther declined because it had been issued without authority.[468] Meanwhile the golden rose had not been delivered to the Elector, but the Elector's desire for it, after he, too, had discovered the wily game which Miltitz was playing, had cooled considerably. In a letter to Cajetan of June 8, just as he is starting for the Diet, he treats the papal distinction intended for him with indifference. When Miltitz finally brought it to him in September, he would not receive him in person, but sent his ministers, Feilitzsch, Haugold von Einsiedeln, and Guenther von Buenau, to receive it.[469] The elaborate program which Miltitz had intended to execute on the occasion had to be dropped. The rose was duly received and put away, and the reward which the Elector sent Miltitz for his trouble was so disappointing to the latter that he complained it had cost him more to bring the gift to the Elector. Thus Rome was minus one golden rose, and still minus one fratello Martin.

27. In the Professor's Study.

Once more we interrupt our review of Luther's *Werdegang* to observe the professor at his most congenial tasks. Immediately after his return from Heidelberg he published his *German Theology*.[470] On June 4

468) See the documents in XV, 722-738. 469) XV, 740-747.

he sent copies to Spalatin and Lang, to the latter with the request to forward a copy to Count von Stolberg on the Kreutzberg in the Rhoen Mountains.[471]

On September 2 he informs Spalatin:—

Among our students a question has sprung up which I have discussed with my friends who believe that I ought to write you about it, in order that you might give a hint of it to the Elector. It is this: Now that by the grace of God the best lectures are flourishing among us, and the young men are burning with a wonderful zeal for sacred literature and pure theology, they think it hard that on account of so many other useless lectures which they are compelled to hear for their degrees, they must put back the best, or that they must be unduly loaded with both. They petition, therefore, that, if possible, the course in ethics—since it is to theology what the wolf is to the lamb—be made elective, that is, that those who wish might dispense with it without endangering their promotion. Another question concerns the future method of examinations for the degrees of Bachelor and Magister according to the new lecture plan. But this matter we shall arrange ourselves, unless you have a better plan ready to suggest.[472]

These academic questions were to be discussed by the Elector and Spalatin while they were in attendance at the Diet in Augsburg! On December 9 Luther writes his friend:—

Dear George, the rector and I have come to an agreement on the schedule of lectures: the Thomistic course on Aristotle's *Physics* is to be dropped, since Magister Gunkel now quits that chair to succeed the rector in his lectures on the text. But the course in Thomistic logic should also be dropped; it is now conducted by Magister Premsel of Torgau. Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* might be substituted for it by the same Magister, since he is no mediocre scholar in the humanities. We believe that the Scotist philosophy and logic, together with the text-reading of (Aristotle's) *Physics* and *Logic*, is sufficient, until the chair of the Scotist sect, which is equally useless and an unhappy task for the mind, is likewise discontinued, if we can find a way at last to utterly abolish these sect names and draw the pure philosophy and theology, and all our instruction, from their real sources. Let me hear your advice in this matter.[473]

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470) Eyn deutsch Theologia, das ist, Eyn edles Buchleyn, vom rechten vorstand, was Adam and Christus sey, vnd wie Adam yn vns sterben, vnd Christus ersteen sall. 471) XXIa, 100, 101; Erl., *l. c.* I, 205, 207.
472) XVI, 2398; Erl., *l. c.* I. 227.
473) XXIa, 120 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 312 f.

Spalatin's answer had not yet arrived on February 7, and Luther writes once more regarding the change of the schedule, with the additional recommendation that the revenue gained by dropping one lecture on the *Physics* be added to Melanchthon's salary.[474] On February 23 the entire university unites in an appeal to the Elector to order the proposed changes.[475] On March 5 Luther answers a question of Spalatin regarding this matter:—

You wish to know who are the men requesting the Elector to change the course of study? The rector,[476] Carlstadt, I, and Amsdorf. Many are not pleased with the change, however, for no fair reason, because they consider, not the profit of the students, but the salaries of the professors. Conversing with one of them recently, I said if the salaries had to be given for the sake of supporting the professors, the university would become a home for the poor. Let the needy be supported in some other way; here we must consider what is an advantage for the studies. They are blind and without judgment. I hope the illustrious Elector will take good counsel in the matter.[477]

In a letter to Spalatin of March 13 he attacks the problem from another angle:—

It will be beyond Philip's strength to be strained into giving so many lectures, since he is already overburdened. Even if you think he should lecture alternate days, his mind will have to be burdened nevertheless with many cares. Moreover, Aristotle's *Physics* is absolutely useless for every age; the whole book is an argument about nothing and rests on a begging of the question. His *Rhetoric* is a useless exercise, unless you wish to look at a sample of rhetorical declamation, which is much as though one were to exercise his mind and skill studying dung or some other inane stuff. God's wrath has decreed that for so many ages the human race should occupy itself with these follies, and without even understanding them. I know the book inside out, for I have expounded it privately to my brothers, rejecting the commentaries. In short, we hold that it should be read with the intention of discontinuing it some time, and that soon,—even some piece from Beroaldus[478] would be far more useful. There is absolutely no understanding of natural phenomena in it. The same fodder is in his *Metaphysics* and *On the Soul*. It is, therefore, unworthy that a genius like him [Melanchthon] should

474) XXIa, 145; Erl., *l. c.* I, 411.
475) XXIa, 152 f.; Erl. Ed. 56, p. VI., No. 832.
476) Bartholomaeus Bernhardi Feldkirch.
477) XV, 2446; Erl., *l. c.* I, 447; Smith, *l. c.* I, 167 f.
478) Philip Beroaldus, 1453-1505, lectured on eloquence at Parma, Milan and Paris.

wallow in such a slough of folly. If it must be read for graduation, it is better to read it without than with comprehension.[479]

If only we had more lecture-periods for the best studies! that is the constant wail of Luther.[480] The task of reconstructing the plan of studies occupies him during both semesters in 1519, and even later. His worry for frail, overtaxed Melanchthon is unceasing. He even asks Erasmus to aid him in checking the young professor's zeal.[481]

The university with its busy professors and students Luther likens to an ant-hill.[482] The attendance was growing at a prodigious rate; the enrollment in 1517 was 232; this number was increased in 1519 to 458, and in 1520 to 579. Melanchthon usually had 400 students in his lectures, Luther between 350 and 400.

The chair of Hebrew was not happily supplied. On November 12 Luther informs Spalatin:—

Our university is prospering and doing well, especially in Greek; only the Hebrew professor has a head of his own and lays stress on things that require no stress. What we regard as of the highest importance he readily and gladly discards, and what we almost scorn he emphasizes, as if he wished to say *no* to our views. We are concerned about the meaning of letters and words and care little for prosody, because we do not expect to become orators among the Jews. But we are accommodating ourselves to the old gentleman, lest he might spread a complaint, which before all others he is very much inclined to do.[483]

On January 10 Luther, who has just returned from his conference at Altenburg, writes to Spalatin:—

I have arrived at Wittenberg and found a gentleman who wants to teach Hebrew—quite a young man—and is well educated. For at the hour of my arrival he delivered a Latin oration which was embellished with Hebrew phrases and pleased

479) XXIa, 155 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 449; Smith, *l. c.* I, 169 f.

480) See also the letter to Staupitz of Dec. 13, 1518. XV, 2429; Erl., *l. c.* I, 320.

481) XVII, 1582; Erl., *l. c.* 490.

482) XV, 2431; Erl., *l. c.* I, 317.

483) XV, 2422; Erl., *l. c.* I, 278. Boeschenstein is meant. Carlstadt writes to Spalatin December 8: "What about our Hebraist? He is agreeable to few, a chum with nobody, nor does he in the opinion of all earn his salary." In November, 1518, he published *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones*, with a preface by Melanchthon, and dedicated to the Elector.

us. Accordingly, we thought that if the old gentleman [Boeschenstein] hastens his departure, we may give his position to this new man, and the withdrawal of the old gentleman could be borne. Perhaps the Lord is having his eye on our university and is providing for it without our effort.[484]

On April 13 Luther writes to Lang:—

As regards that Hebraist of yours whom you recommend, I beg that you will do us the favor to have him come to us by all means, and that at once, because our Boeschenstein, who was a Christian in name, but quite a Jew in fact, has left us, to the shame of our university.[485]

Another change in the Faculty occurred towards the end of December, when Feldkirch became provost of Kemberg. Luther had recommended Provost Ziegelheim of Spremberg for this position, which was a prebend of the university.[486] Feldkirch's removal from the university necessitated the new division of lectures which Luther recommends in one of the letters to Spalatin cited before, also a change in the rectorate.

Printing facilities at Wittenberg were very inadequate. Not only Luther, but all the professors made complaints about Gruenenberg's insufficiency. When Boeschenstein's Hebrew Grammar was published, the Hebrew references were written into the book by hand. These conditions were not improved until May, 1519. On May 8 Luther writes to Spalatin:—

Melchior Lotther,[487] supplied with a very fine case of types

484) The young Hebraist was Bartholomaeus Caesar of Forchheim, near Hamberg. Boeschenstein first recommended him, then changed his mind and criticized him severely. Carlstadt wrote to Spalatin the same day as Luther: "See to it, please, that our old gentleman receives his dismissal, otherwise he will leave without our will to the reproach of the university. XXIa, 138; Erl., *l. c.* I, 346.

485) XV, 2469; Erl., *l. c.* II, 10. Luther's remark about Boeschenstein's character may refer to the gentleman's Jewish descent, though we think what Luther means are only certain well-known traits which readily earn for the person displaying them the byword of Jew. It is a fact, however, that Boeschenstein had to defend himself against the charge that he was of Jewish parentage. In 1523 he published a tract for that purpose. (Enders. Erl., *l. c.*) He finally drifted into Switzerland and attached himself to Zwingli.

486) Enders, Erl., *l. c.* I, 310.

487) This is the Leipzig publisher whose guest Luther was during the Leipzig Debate. When the Elector consented to Luther's request, seconded by Carlstadt, he established a branch office at Wittenberg, which was conducted by his two sons, Melchior, Jr., and Michael. Lotther, Sr., continued and expanded his business at Leipzig, which he had taken over from his father-in-law, Kachelofen. The publication of Luther's writings secured for him a flourishing business.

by Froben, has arrived; he is ready to set up a printery in our town, if the Elector will give his consent to the undertaking. I have previously touched upon this matter.[488]

A rather amusing incident in this period, at least to the modern reader, is the banquet for Dr. Frosch, the Carmelite Prior of Augsburg, who was Luther's host during the conference with Cajetan. He had obtained his Master's degree at Wittenberg, and now proposed to get his Doctor's degree at the same place. He claimed that the Elector had promised to defray the expenses of the customary Doctor's banquet at his promotion. He came to Wittenberg with Leonhard Beyer, November 7. On November 12 Luther writes Spalatin:—

Behold, my dear Spalatin, father Johann Frosch, Licentiate, is here, and strenuously asserts that our Elector promised him what I told and wrote you. For I made extensive inquiries regarding the affair, without letting him know that the Elector knows nothing of the promise or is in doubt about it. His Provincial did not come with him on account of illness,[489] but he expects the Prior of Nuernberg. Now we have decided to hold the banquet for him next Thursday [Nov. 18] in order that he may not spend too much time here uselessly, and in the certain hope that the expenses will be paid by our liberal Elector.

We did this because it seemed best to us after my recent meeting with you; for it could not be presumed that the banquet would be held at the castle or elswhere. He first wanted to visit the Elector, but we dissuaded him from doing so, and he dropped his plan, because he would have had to make the trip three times, and chiefly because I knew he would not be admitted on account of the pest, since he had to pass through infected localities.[490] This is how we stand; if you have a better plan, more conducive to honor for the Elector and reverence for our doctor, inform us quickly. We would have prepared him a banquet in our cloister, but we were afraid that we might not get any venison. Besides, it seemed more respectful to cede this honor to the Elector in view of his promise.[491]

The next day he writes to Spalatin:—

We have tried to make arrangements at the home of one of our citizens for the banquet in honor of father Dr. Frosch, but I am afraid we have tried in vain. Now, lest we allow

488) XXIa, 163 f.; Erl., *l. c.* II, 28.
489) He had gone as far as Nuernberg with Frosch.
490) It was during this epidemic that the provost of Kemberg died.
491) XV, 2421; Erl., *l. c.* I, 277.

this gentleman, who is worthy of all honor, to depart from us without any mark of our esteem, we have turned our eyes towards our cloister and shall arrange for the banquet at our expense, not infringing, however, on the Elector's promise. For, truly, we are poor, and there are many of us, so that we cannot do it without expense. Therefore we pray you to provide the venison from the Elector for Thursday, or rather for Wednesday [Nov. 17]. If this cannot be done, we can postpone the affair till next Monday [Nov. 22]. Answer as speedily as possible by this messenger, lest I incur unnecessary expenses. Farewell. Saturday after St. Martin's, 1518.

Be careful not to make a mistake in the date. Thursday, I say, will be the day of the banquet, if you can procure venison; if not, the Monday after. Accordingly, the venison must be here Saturday or Sunday.[492]

The reader will feel relieved to know that the banquet was duly held, with the medieval academic pomp which the "professors' village" could afford, on November 22. There was only one feature to mar the occasion, as the following letter of Luther, written on the same day, shows:—

To Philip Melanchthon, Schwarzerd, the Grecian, the Latinist, the Hebraist, the Germanist, never the Barbarian:—

Greeting: To-day you have snubbed—may the muse and Apollo forgive you!—both me and the fledgling doctor. Now, although the affair was not entirely my own, I have forgiven you; but if you do not at this hour appear before Dr. Andreas Carlstadt and Licentiate Amsdorf, chiefly, however, before the Rector, not even your Greek accomplishment will excuse you, much less your "little brother" Martin, as Cajetan calls him. Our new doctorlet, in his customary humor, believes that, being a barbarian, he has been regarded as rather worthless by the Grecian. See how you get out of this; for I have pledged my word that you will surely come this hour. You will do me a favor if you come alone; but I would like it very much if you would bring Dr. Vitus[493] and Johann Schwertfeger[494] with you. For to-night I shall be host, and these gentlemen are well acquainted with me, yea, dear friends of mine. If you so decide and advise them, chiefly, however, upon my order (if the "little brother" still has something to say), they shall come with you. Farewell.[495]

492) XXIa, 115 f.; Erl., *l. c.* I, 279 f.

493) Vitus Warbeck, since 1519 canon at the cathedral of Altenburg; skilled in French, and for that reason often employed by the Elector, whom he accompanied to Frankfort to the election of Charles V in June, 1519.

494) Of Meissen; became successor to Wolfgang Stehelin as professor of jurisprudence in 1521; died May 10, 1524.

495) XXIa, 117; Erl., *l. c.* I, 302; Smith, *l. c.* I, 131.

Spalatin describes to Guy Bild at Augsburg what he considers the chief activities at the university, in a letter of December 10:—

That most holy, true, and German theology, not fouled by the dregs of metaphysics and dialectics, not polluted by human traditions, not burdened with old wives' tales, but such as the primitive theologians knew, praised and extolled to heaven, this theology, I say is taught (praise be to God!) in the university of my Elector at Wittenberg with such success that those learned doctors of theology Martin Luther and Carlstadt, have full lecture-rooms and disciples not only eager to learn, but already proficient, who do not fear even the greatest of the sophists. Philip Melanchthon teaches Greek there to about four hundred pupils. There are also not a few scholars of Dr. Johann Boeschenstein, who teaches Hebrew. In short, the best studies are so successfully taught at Wittenberg that you would call it another Athens.[496]

Melanchthon celebrated his friend Luther with a Greek poem:—

Holy Nazarite of Israel, offerer of peace-making sacrifices,[497] elect servant of uncorrupted truth, protector of souls, ruler of pious desires, divinely inspired messenger of wisdom and of motherless justice, happy priest of the divine Word and of the life-giving spirit, spreading abroad the sweet-smelling balsam of the anointed Church,[498] faithful and sleepless shepherd of the temple of all-merciful God, driving out the Arabian wolf and the sophist Belial, thou champion of truth, smite with the wonder-working staff of Moses the doting brains of the enemies of the Word, even the superstitious magicians; cauterize the unclean tongues with the juniper coals of the Word;[499] fight steadfastly, and unceasingly follow light-bearing Jesus; guard the blessed lot of the faithful.[500]

Luther, on the other hand, loves to adorn his correspondence with his intimate friends with snatches of Greek, a tribute to his dear Philip,[501] and is studying Hebrew with the aid of Moses Kimchi's Grammar. In his correspondence with Froben, Capito, and Erasmus he shows that he is keenly watching the book-market for new publications, and that he is a close reader.

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496) Smith, *l. c.* I, 137 f.
497) As priest offering the sacrifice of the mass.
498) "Of the eucharist of the Church."
499) Is. 6, 5-7.
500) Erl., *l. c.* I, 377; Smith, *l. c.* I, 144 f.
501) See letters to Spalatin XV, 708 (Erl. I, 368), XXIa, 141 (Erl. I, 370), XXIa, 142 (Erl. I, 371); to Lang, XV, 2448 (Erl., *l. c.* II, 51), etc.

Melanchthon had urged Luther to enter into a friendly correspondence with his uncle Reuchlin, with a view of allying the great Hebraist with Luther's cause, which Reuchlin had not favored. Luther yielded to the suggestion (which proved fruitless because Reuchlin became a stubborn opponent of Luther), and wrote the aged scholar the following letter:—

The Lord be with you, valiant man. Most learned Humanist, I thank God that by His mercy you have at length stopped the mouths of those speaking iniquity. For you were indeed the instrument of divine wisdom, although unconscious of it yourself, yet most welcome to all lovers of sound theology. How differently has God shaped your course from what you thought! I am one of those who longed to be with you, but had no opportunity. Yet was I always with you in prayer and fervent hope. But what was then denied to me as your ally, has been granted to me as your successor (in persecution). For the teeth of these behemoths lay hold on me, if by any means they can avenge on me the shame that they have received from you. I, too, fight them, though with far inferior resources of genius and learning than you displayed in both fighting and overcoming them, yet with a mind no less steadfast. They avoid meeting my arguments, they refuse to reply to me, but attack me murderously by mere force and violence. (Truly Christ lives, for I who have nothing, can lose nothing.) For by your valor the horns of these bulls have been broken in pieces. The Lord wrought through you, that the king of the sophists may learn to be more slow and cautious in opposing sound theology, and Germany may breathe again after so many hundreds of years during which the teaching of the Scriptures lay dormant or rather extinct. . . . .

But am I not bold to speak to you so familiarly without any laudatory preface? My hearty love for you has impelled me to write, for I feel (although I have not met you) familiar with you, partly because I think so much of you, and partly by meditation on our books. Another reason for writing is that our admirable Philip Melanchthon, who has almost every virtue known to man, and is my dear, intimate friend, has urged me to write boldly, assuring me that you would not take my awkwardness ill, but would thank me. But do not blame him, if you must blame any one, as I wish you to regard this letter solely as a witness to my affection for you, which is nothing if not frank.

Farewell, and rejoice in the Lord, my truly venerable teacher.[502]

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502) XXIa, 130 f.; Erl. *l. c.* I, 333 f. Smith, *l. c.* I, 140 f.

Spalatin still comes with his difficulties and scruples to ask Luther's opinions. Often, too, the Elector is the solicitor through his secretary, and matters of statecraft are submitted to the theologian Luther, *e. g.*, the question whether the tax for the Turkish War is justifiable on Scriptural grounds.

During these months of intense controversy which we have reviewed Luther completed several of his best writings. To relieve the mental and spiritual distress of his parishioners in the confessional, where many a sincere soul was agitated with doubt by the law that every sin must be enumerated or absolution is void, Luther, during Lent 1517, had preached a series of sermons on the Ten Commandments.[503] The church was crowded at these services. These sermons were published in Wittenberg in 1518.

Near the end of that year Luther also published an exposition of the Lord's Prayer.[504] In a letter to Link of December 11 he says:

I have gone to work again on the Lord's Prayer, which I wish to publish in German.[505]

This work grew out of sermons which Luther had preached to the people of Wittenberg. His former pupil Agricola published them with additions, which he considered improvements. Luther acknowledged Agricola's good intention, but was not convinced that the latter had improved his work either in matter or form.

It was not necessary, he says in the preface of his own publication, to lead my sermons astray through the country; there are other books that deserve to be preached to the people for their edification. I do not know by what providence of God I am drawn into complications, now by my friends, now by my enemies, who are catching up what I say, and are canvassing it. This has compelled me to issue anew this Lord's Prayer, which has been published before by my good friends. I wish to ex-

503) III, 1132-1353: *Die zehn Gebote dem Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt.*
504) VII, 753-821: *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers fuer die einfaeltigen Laien.*
505) XV, 2430; Erl., *l. c.* I, 315.

plain my mind a little more fully, in order, if possible, to render a service also to my adversaries. For my aim is to make myself useful to everybody and become harmful to no one.[506]

Before writing out his manuscript for this work, Luther gathered the children and common people about him in evening services, and in the homeliest style and simplest fashion taught them the contents of the Prayer of prayers. The preparation of his manuscript was often interrupted, chiefly through the conference with Miltitz. The treatise appeared in April, 1519; for on the fifth day of that month Luther sent a copy to Spalatin.[507] This treatise of Luther became the people's favorite, and was soon translated into foreign languages. A genial warmth pervades these pastoral talks, and with consummate skill they open up to the reader the religious wealth of the Seven Petitions, thus showing the people what an abominable practise the Church had cultivated when it taught the people a mechanical repetition of this prayer so many times a day.

Here is one standing in the Church, Luther says, and turning the leaves in his book, counting and rattling the beads on his rosary, while the thoughts of his heart are roving far from the subjects which his lips are reciting. That is praying into the void.[508]

Luther wants no babbling in prayer; his rule is: "Less words, but more prayer; heap words, and you spoil your prayer."[509] The Fifth Petition he calls

the most effectual letter of indulgences that has come down to earth, and is not sold for money, but freely given to everybody. Other teachers impose penances on us that empty our purses and chests, but Christ lays His penance on our heart, . . . requiring of us that we forgive our brother as He forgives us. This letter, sealed with the wounds of Christ and confirmed by His death, has almost been obliterated and destroyed by the torrent of the Roman indulgence.[510]

The Sixth Petition reminds him of the misery and sadness of this present life, of which Job and David and

506) VII, 753. 507) XXIa, 160; Erl., *l. c.* II, 8.
508) VII, 758. 509) VII, 753. 510) VII, 804.

Peter and all the saints have spoken. He explains the manifold "temptations" to which man is exposed. Nobody, he says, can escape them, but you can guard against them.

> Dear brother, you cannot keep the birds from flying over your head, but you can keep them from building their nests in your haid.[511]

The treatise was sold throughout Germany and Switzerland and even at Venice, and everybody praised it. Only Duke George told Luther when he met him at Leipzig during the debate with Eck, that Luther had destroyed the people's devotions, for no one was any longer praying his rosary.

In March, 1519, there appeared, with a dedication to the Elector and a special advertisement by Melanchthon to the students, the first instalment of Luther's exposition of the Psalms (*Operationes in Psalmos*).[512] After his return from Heidelberg, Luther had received many requests to resume his interpretation of the Psalms which he had dropped, after a three years' course of lectures, in 1516. He now began these lectures on a larger scale, with extensive practical applications, in July, 1518. His intention was to publish the entire series of commentaries seriatim in numbers embracing two printers' forms in quarto. The first instalment already was considerably larger, and the plan was not adhered to in later issues, nor was the work carried beyond the Twenty-second Psalm, which Luther completed on the Wartburg. The Psalms had early proved a powerful attraction to Luther. In his exposition he exhibits them as model prayers; they are to teach the children of God the priceless privilege, the manifold and varied objects, and the effectual methods of prayer. The peace of God that passes all understanding breathes from these remarkable interpre-

511) VII, 813. 512) IV, 221-518.

tations, which allow us to behold in this man of war and strife a truly pastoral soul, filled with the love of Christ for his neglected brethren.

In the spring of 1519 Luther began the publication of his *Commentary on Galatians,*[513] which he dedicated to his colleagues Lupinus von Radheim and Andreas Carlstadt. The work was already in the printer's hands when Luther met Miltitz. After the conference he took it from the printer and changed certain sections; the revision was finished in April. This treatise became the handbook of the new generation of theologians that was being educated at Wittenberg. Melanchthon called it the thread of Ariadne through the labyrinth of Biblical science.

A number of minor publications were issued during this period, mainly sermons in tract form. Especially the sermon on the Preparation for Receiving the Lord's Supper,[514] with the appendix: *Meditation on the Passion of Christ,*[515] were in great demand. Scheurl asks for it in behalf of Ebner, December 20.[516]

The rapid and wide dissemination of Luther's writings is one of the marvels of his age. Booksellers, who are the best judges in this matter, were astonished at the trade which Luther developed for them. Johann Froben of Basle writes to Luther February 14, 1519:—

Blasius Salmonius, a printer of Leipzig, gave me some of your books, which he had bought at the last Frankfurt Fair,[517] which, as they were approved by all the learned, I immediately reprinted.[518] We have sent six hundred copies to France [519]

513) VIII, 1352-1661. 514) XII, 1342-1353. 515) X, 1177-1193.
516) Erl., *l. c.* I, 329; XXIa, 129.

517) Smith calls attention to J. W. Thompson's monograph: *The Frankfort Book Fair:* the Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Etienne (Chicago, Caxton Club, 1911), which describes this great book-mart of Germany.

518) On the authority of De Jongh (*L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie à Louvain,* p. 206) Smith reports that this reprint contained the Ninety-five Theses, the Resolutions, the Answer to Prierias, and the sermons on Penitence and on the Eucharist.

519) Glarean writes to Zwingli on November 1, 1520, from Paris that no books are bought more quickly than Luther's. (*C. R.* XCIV, 362.) Thus also Lefèvre d'Etaples learned to know Luther, to whom he sent a greeting on April 9, 1519.

and Spain;[520] they are sold at Paris, and are even read and approved by the doctors of the Sorbonne, as certain of our friends have assured us; for some of the most learned say that they have hitherto missed among those who treat Scripture the same freedom that you show.

Francis Calvus, also a bookseller of Pavia, a most learned man, one devoted to the Muses, has taken a good part of your books to Italy[521] to distribute them among all the cities. Nor does he do it so much for gain as to aid piety. He has promised to send epigrams in your honor by all the learned in Italy, so much does he like your constancy and skill. . . .

We have exported your books to Brabant and England.[522] We only printed three hundred copies of your Reply to Prierias. . . . We have sold out all your books except ten copies, and never remember to have sold any more quickly. We expect to bring out the second edition of Erasmus' New Testament, much enlarged, within ten days.[523]

The statements in the above letter are confirmed by Capito, who writes to Luther February 18, 1519:—

We have printed your collected works, as you will learn from Froben's gift, and within six weeks after the Frankfurt Fair sent them to Italy, France, Spain and England, in this consulting the public welfare, which, we think, is advanced by having the truth spread as widely as possible. Nature by means of truth allures even an enemy to love her.[524]

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28. Aftermath of the Leipzig Debate.

The Leipzig Debate made Eck the champion of Rome against Luther. His "victory" over Luther which he and his followers asserted as an unquestioned fact inspired all who had been defeated by Luther in an argu-

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520) An early indication of the spread of Lutheranism and probably of Lutheran books in Spanish dominions is the condemnation of a Lutheran at Majorca in 1523. (H. C. Lea.: *History of the Spanish Inquisition*, 1907. III, 413.

521) On the sale of Luther's works in Venice, Pavia and Bologna, Smith refers to Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes* (Engl. transl. by Kerker) X, 306; also to Benrath, *Reformat. in Venedig*, p. 2; also to PRE (2) IX, 524.

522) Smith quotes from *Oxford Historical Collectanea*, I, 81 ff., Daybook of John Dorne, bookseller of Oxford for 1520, a statement showing that among Luther's works the following were then sold: Opera, 2 copies; Leipzig Debate, 1; Commentary on Galatians, 1; De Potestate Papae, 6 or 7; Resolutions (for Leipzig Debate) 1; Response to Prierias, 1.

523) Smith, *l. c.* I, 161 f. 524) Smith, *l. c.* I, 163 f.

ment, or were nursing a secret grudge against him which they dared not state openly, with new courage. They rallied around Eck as their standard-bearer, and Eck gloried in the rôle of being the paladin of the papacy. During the latter half of 1519—and even in later years—Luther found himself suddenly attacked from many sides. Every one of these attacks could be traced to Eckian influence. Eck was the strategist of a general campaign, the object of which was to discredit Luther and reduce his influence. At the critical moment the strategist would also become the general, and lead the attack.

1. *Eck and the Franciscans of Jueterbogk.*—Franz Guenther of Nordhausen, who had obtained his Magister's degree at Wittenberg by defending Luther's theses against the scholastic theology on September 4, 1517,[525] had become preacher at St. Nicholas Church at Jueterbogk, the town in the immediate environment of Wittenberg where Tetzel had started his ominous fires and made his doleful predictions against Luther. Report was brought to Bernhard Dappen, the guardian of the Franciscan (Minorite) cloister at this town, that Guenther had stated in his sermons, going to confession, observing fasts, and praying to the saints was not necessary; also, that the Bohemians were better Christians than the Roman Catholics. He summoned Guenther to appear before him and defend himself. Guenther brought with him as witnesses the Augustinian Prior of Wittenberg, Conrad Helt, and a Wittenberg magister. He denied all charges. At this conference the Wittenberg magister stated that he thought nothing of church councils; that the Pope was not the vicegerent of Christ, nor Peter the prince of the apostles; that the Canon Law had been

525) See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 15 f.; 213 ff.

devised to favor avaricious Popes and bishops; that "reserved cases" [526] and "evangelical counsels" [527] did not exist, since everything in the Gospel was to be regarded as a command; that auricular confession was not ordained of God; that God demands of man the highest moral perfection and strict observance of everything that is written in the Gospel; that the Canon Law teaches voluptuousness, avarice, and pride; that man has no free will; that many canons contradict Scripture; that a simple peasant who cites Scripture is to be believed rather than a Pope who asserts something not supported by Scripture; that good works are not necessary; that God has made demands which it is impossible for man to fulfil; that Christ has acquired no merits for Himself, but only for men. A hot discussion ensued, and the conference was broken up. Not long after, the provost of the nuns' convent of St. Mary complained to Bishop Scultetus that Guenther in a sermon had insulted the abbess of the convent. Guenther received a sharp reprimand, quit preaching, and asked Mag. Thomas Muentzer, who had been expelled from Braunschweig, to preach in his place. Mag. Thomas on Easter Day (April 24), in a sermon at St. Mary's Church, attacked Dappen, who returned the attention in his sermon the next day, preaching on the obedience due the Roman Church and the writings of her approved teachers Bonaventura and Aquinas. Muentzer replied in the evening service on Easter Tuesday, which Dappen attended to obtain damaging evidence against Muentzer. Dappen afterwards charged Muentzer with having said that the Pope was obliged to convene a council every five years, but only three councils had been held during the last four

526) Cases in which bishops, or the Pope, alone have jurisdiction.
527) The four *consilia evangelica* of humility, chastity, poverty and obedience, on which the monks' orders are founded.

hundred years; that a council could be held even against the will of the Pope; that the Pope was the head of the Church only by connivance of the other bishops; that the beatification of Bonaventura and Aquinas was invalid because it had not been ordered by a general council, but only by a single person; that the teaching of these saints and other scholastics was tolerated by the Church in about the same manner as people tolerate brothels and panders; that bishops were obliged to hold annual visitations in their dioceses and examine the parishioners as to the state of their faith; if this were done, citations to bishops' courts, threatening letters of officials, and letters of excommunication would cease flying about like bats; that these letters were diabolical writings; that the bishops were sycophants, misleading the people, calling good evil and evil good, understanding neither Greek nor Hebrew; that the Gospel had been cast aside more than four hundred years ago, and that many would have to pay with their lives for the effort of restoring it to men.

These charges the Franciscan brothers submitted orally to Jacob Gropper, the bishop's vicar, but in the absence of his superior he refused to act on them and told the complainants to submit the charges in writing. This was done in two letters of May 4, addressed to Gropper, and of May 5, addressed to Bishop Scultetus. The two letters were afterwards published as a tract, entitled "Articles Set Forth by the Minorite Brothers against the Lutherans." [528] The tract connected the teaching of Guenther and Muentzer with the preaching and writings of Luther. Thus Luther was drawn into the controversy. In a sharp letter to the Franciscans of

528) This is the first authenticated instance of the use of the name "Lutheran" as a designation for Luther's followers.

May 15 Luther showed the monks that they had grossly misunderstood and distorted teachings that were entirely in accord with Scripture, warned them not to mix into a controversy that exceeded their comprehension, and demanded that they retract their charges, or he would expose their ignorance.[529)]

The matter was allowed to rest during the next months. After his debate with Carlstadt and Luther, Eck tarried some time at Leipzig and met Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg and his Bishop Scultetus, who were returning from the imperial election at Frankfurt. Scultetus submitted the charges of the Franciscans to Eck for his opinion. In two hours, as he afterwards boasted in print, Eck had annotated the letters of the Franciscans in the same manner as he had previously prepared his *Obelisks* against Luther's Theses, and had extracted from the charges of the brothers at Jueterbogk sixteen distinct heresies with which Luther must be charged. Scultetus saw to it that Eck's opinion was published and disseminated—the dear bishop who was such a kind, fatherly friend to Luther!

In the dedicatory letter to Spalatin of August 15, with which Luther prefaced his exhaustive account of the Leipzig Debate,[530)] Luther remarks:—

> I hear that Eck has prepared some glosses to certain articles directed against me by reckless brethren who are inviting their own punishment, and that he has again, with remarkable charity, described me to the great men among whom he moves as a Manichean, a Hussite, a Wyclifite, and I know not what other sort of heretic.[531)]

On August 18 Luther and Carlstadt sent to the Elector a reply to charges which Eck had raised against them in a letter to the Elector. This reply Luther accompanied by a letter to Spalatin, in which he first speaks of his

529) XVIII, 1362-1369.
530) XVIII, 821-875: *Resolutiones Lutherianae super Propositionibus suis Lipsiae Disputatis.*
531) XV, 1159; Erl., *l. c.* II, 118.

larger treatise on the Leipzig Debate, and then proceeds:—

Eck, whom we may now, without sin, judge and accuse, is ever playing the part neither of a good man nor of a gentleman. He has given the Brandenburg bishop his annotations to articles which the brothers at Jueterbogk have falsely cooked up against me.[532] The man is impudent and void of shame, ready to assert, and then again to surrender, anything, just as a little puff of glory wafts him about. His only object is to hurt Wittenberg by fair means or foul. I am meeting his attack, and with God's help will expose the sycophant and his lies to the public.

Meantime the Bishop of Brandenburg, without hearing the other side, is spreading abroad Eck's falsehoods, and, in the eyes of many, is giving them authority by his name, thus hurting me, and showing fairly the animus he has always had towards me. I fear that I can hardly do anything without involving him and betraying how like his ignorance and rashness is to that of Eck. It is remarkable that the Franciscans are working with him. We are only lacking the printshop to publish our rejoinders more promptly.[533]

Luther met Eck's attack by his "Defense against the Malicious Judgment of Johann Eck regarding Certain Articles Imputed to Him by Some Brothers."[534] This treatise, punctuated with sharp turns against Eck, is a calm and clear presentation of Luther's real teaching, ably established by Scripture-proof. After reviewing the sixteen heresies imputed to him by Eck, Luther submits twenty-four heresies of which Eck is guilty. Since the presses of Wittenberg were occupied, Luther asked Lotther of Leipzig to publish the treatise.[535] On September 22 he writes to Spalatin:—

The Provincial of the Franciscans has sent some quite respectable fathers to me in order to intercept my publication against the brothers at Jueterbogk, who are going to be punished and transferred to another place. I yielded to them, stating that if they could prevail on Lotther at Leipzig, or would indemnify him, I was willing to suppress my treatise as a favor

532) Just as in the former instance of the *Obelisks*, Eck claimed that his annotations must have become public by accident.

533) XV, 2488 f.; Erl., *l. c.* II, 129 f.; comp. Smith *l. c.* I, 214 f.

534) XVIII, 1370-1417.

535) So he writes to Lang, September 3, and in the same letter states: "Miltitz boasted in Dresden: 'Dr. Luther is in my hand,' but by God's grace he accomplishes nothing." XV, 2450; Erl., *l. c.* II, 139; Smith, *l. c.* I, 217 f.

to them. They are negotiating with him; I do not know what success they are having.[536]

Either because they had delayed too long or offered Lotther no adequate compensation, Luther's treatise was published; on September 30 Luther sent copies of it to Guenther.[537] Eck wrote a reply "in one day," [538] which glorifies the Franciscans as men whose name is redolent throughout the world for their godliness and sanctity. The reply bristles with vituperations of Luther, and as to the points in controversy, promises that they will be discussed in a future treatise of his on the Primacy of the Pope. The dedication of the reply is dated: Ingolstadt, October 19, 1519. Luther ignored it.

During the month of October the Franciscans met in convention at Wittenberg, and for their customary disputation chose the subject of the Holy Wounds of Jesus. Luther writes to Staupitz October 3 that this subject was chosen because a rumor had been spread that Luther had preached against the veneration of the Crucifixus as a superstition.[539] A young Bachelor of Theology, Jacob of Zwickau, a graduate of Wittenberg, defeated the Franciscan champions in this debate. Luther paid no attention to this debate either.

2. *Jerome Dungersheim.*[540]—In the fall of 1519 Dungersheim, a professor of theology at Leipzig, attempted to draw Luther into a correspondence on the primacy

536) XXIa, 185; Erl., *l. c.* II, 157 f.
537) XVIII, 1480.
538) "Sie ist auch danach!" says the editor of the Weimar Edition.
539) XV, 2543.
540) Born 1465 at Ochsenfurt in the district of Wuerzburg, hence called Dr. Ochsenfurt. (Dungersheim himself spells the name Ochsenfart.) He accompanied Cardinal Raymond Peraldus at the beginning of the 16th century through Saxony, preaching indulgences; became priest at St. Mary's in Zwickau, in 1501, and remained there till 1504, when Sylvius Egranus became his successor. With the latter, Dungersheim was involved in the controversy noted before about the three Annas of Roman hagiology and their three daughters Mary. After 1504 Dungersheim attended the universities of Bologna, Siena, Rome and Cologne, returning to Leipzig in 1506, where he was professor of theology till his death, March 2, 1540.

of the Pope, which he regarded as an established doctrine of the Roman creed. In view of Eck's statement that he was about to publish a treatise on this subject, Luther declined to enter into a time-consuming correspondence with Dungersheim, as he was already resolved to reply to Eck's treatise. He informed Dungersheim briefly of his intention; but the latter, "with senile obstinacy," persisted in writing letters to Luther that became more and more voluminous. Luther, who had always replied briefly, broke off the correspondence about June, 1520. "We take Scripture for our judge," he wrote to Dungersheim, "but you want to be the judge of Scripture." He warned Dungersheim not to think that he was not aware of his secret plotting against him: "Take care lest my patience, having been overstrained, break forth violently some day. I am human like you; only you have leisure and ease to bite at me under cover. I am crowded with work, and while my persecutors are sinking their teeth into me, I am told to practise moderation—I, who stand alone, and at whom immoderate wolves are tearing. I am writing you this in order that you may know that I desire peace; but if I cannot have it, let God's will be done!" [541]

These stern words were meant, not so much for Dungersheim, as for one of his colleagues, to whom we must turn our attention now.

3. *Eck and Emser.*—Eck's most efficient agent at the Leipzig Debate had been Jerome Emser.[542] During the

541) XVIII, 533 f. For the entire correspondence see col. 462-535. The date of this literary controversy is still in question. Koestlin's view that it began in the fall of 1519 and was closed in the summer of 1520 is the most plausible, because it is plain that the Erl. Ed. (followed by the St. L. Ed.) misunderstands the reference to the festival of *Pope* Mark, which is October 7, not January 18.

542) Born March 26, 1477, at Ulm, of noble descent (hence displaying the insignia of nobility in his writings); studied Greek, Latin, Hebrew and some theology at Tuebingen and Basel; traveled as secretary of Cardinal Raymond von Gurck in Germany and Italy during 1500, finally

debate Eck had insinuated that Luther was in league with the Hussites of Bohemia. Luther repelled the charge, but it gained greater credence when on July 16 and 17 two letters were written to Luther by members of the Utraquist party (insisting on communion in both forms, bread *and wine*) in Bohemia, Johann Poduschka, presbyter of the cathedral of the Blessed Virgin, and Wenceslaus Rossdalovicky, provost of Carl College, both of Prague. The writers praised Luther's zeal in behalf of the truth and urged him to remain steadfast against Eck. Luther did not receive these letters until October 3, 1519,[543] but their contents were known before. A rumor had been spread that during the Leipzig Debate the Bohemians had offered prayers for Luther. After the close of the debate, Emser, pretending a pious concern for the Catholic party in Bohemia, wrote to Johann Zack, administrator of the Catholic church at Prague and provost of Leitmeritz. He related that Luther had repelled the charge of his being in alliance with the Bohemians, and had maintained the supremacy of the Pope, even though he had admitted it only as a human right. By comparing the Pope to the Old Testament high priest, Emser argued for the divine right of the papacy.[544] The letter was dated August 13; it was published immediately. What roused Luther to anger and fierce retaliation was that under the guise of a private

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settling at Erfurt, where he claims to have had young Luther among his pupils. In 1504 he moved to Leipzig, where he obtained the degree of Bachelor in 1505, and read canon law. Since 1505 he was Duke George's secretary. He it was that arranged the social evening for Luther at Dresden, at which the latter found himself watched by a spy. (*Leips. Debate*, p. 48 f.; comp. pp. 115, 129.) He acknowledged that he had been leading an immoral life, living in concubinage with a pretty Bohemian. Emser is the author of the myth that Luther was of Hussite extraction.

543) De Wette I, 341.

544) XVIII, 1202-1213. At the end of the letter there is a Sapphic poem, which Hoppe renders:

Africa's Fluss Nil bringet nicht so viele
Neue Greuel auf, als der Kampf zu Leipzig
Kritiker gebar, voller Spott und Dummheit,
Unnuetze Schreiber.

correspondence Emser made an insidious plea that no one must consider Luther a Hussite. In his reply [545] Luther declined this testimonial of his orthodoxy as a wily artifice, and declared that, if the Bohemians liked his teaching, he was pleased to know it. The parallelism between the Jewish high priest and the Roman Pope he tore into shreds. The reply is full of bitter invective, caustic remarks, and cutting satire. Alluding to the coat of arms which Emser had imprinted on the title of his publication (showing the fore-part of a goat), he addresses him as Goat Emser.

Eck came to Emser's defense, also in the form of a letter to Johann of Schleynitz, Bishop of Meissen, which was dated October 28. It is filled with personal revilings of Luther and sophistical perversions of his teachings. The discussion of the real issue Eck again postpones till he shall publish his great treatise *On the Primacy of Peter.*[546] Emser, too, replied to Luther in November, 1519, in a scurrilous brochure, entitled: *Emser's Vindication of His Goat against the Huntsman*

Welcher Teufel mengt in die heil'gen Dinge
Diese tolle Wut? und wer mag, o Ungluecck!
In so grossen Kampf nun die Lehrer hetzen
Goettlicher Weisheit?

Friedefuerst, Herr Christ, der den Frieden lehret,
Schul' kaempft wider Schul', und an allen Orten
Wird anjetzt verjagt unser altes Wesen,
Sonst hoch geehret!

Eh' das grobe Volk noch den Schiedspruch kennet,
Urtheilt es gar frech: doch der weise Richter
Spendet reiches Lob, nach erwog'ner Sache,
Jeglicher Seite.

Flieh von hinnen, Neid! Der Gespenster Kaempfen
Bleibe fern von hier und die harte Rede.
Denn die blinde Wut gegen Gott und Bruder
Toetet die Liebe (amorem).

The reference to the verdict (Schiedspruch) is to the opinion which the universities of Erfurt and Paris were to render on the points finally submitted to them by Luther and Eck at the end of their debate. During this time the men at the universities were amusing themselves by writing epigrams, distichs, and poems either for or against Luther.

545) XVIII, 1213-1255.
546) XVIII, 910-931.

Luther. Luther disdained to answer either publication. To Spalatin he writes November 19:—

Emser is raging, and vomiting forth his gall; he is saying nothing that is to the point.[547]

4. *Eck himself.*—Luther's most relentless and indefatigable persecutor, however, remained "das Ruhmtierlein" (the little vainglorious animal) of Ingolstadt, as Luther calls Eck. In his extensive treatise on the Leipzig Debate Luther had shown how Eck had continually shifted his position. Eck was incensed when he read this, and at once published a *Vindication;*[548] but Luther, in an open letter towards the end of October, fastened the charge upon him with such incontrovertible evidence that Eck was hushed at this point at least. On February 8, 1520, Luther writes to Spalatin:—

Link writes that Eck has ordered my books to be burned on the market-place of Ingolstadt. The day before the burning, while preparations were being made for it, some intelligent doctors of Ingolstadt consulted Reuchlin about the matter, and he is said to have told them to take care lest they fasten a blotch by their doings on the university. Accordingly, the plan was dropped. When Eck came to the place the next day and saw that nothing was being done, he went away in wrath. One could imagine that the man has been turned into a frenzied bacchante.[549]

Eck finished his treatise *On the Primacy of the Pope* and made preparations to go to Rome to deliver it in person to the Pope, and to collect the reward for his faithful services.

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29. Alignments.

While Eck was moving heaven and earth to destroy Luther, Miltitz made another effort to achieve the same end by his diplomatic method. He induced the Elector

547) XXIa, 204; Erl., *l. c.* II, 262.
548) "Reinigungsschrift." 549) XV, 2490; Erl., *l. c.* II, 219.

to summon Luther to another conference, which took place at Liebenwerda on October 9.[550] Miltitz was full of dark hints regarding terrible things that were brewing at Rome, not only for Luther, but also for the Elector. But the latter remained unimpressed. He had arranged with the Bishop of Trier to bring Luther with him for a hearing at the next Diet, which was to be held in 1520. Accordingly, Miltitz's urging to have the conference with Greiffenklau take place immediately met with no response. The Elector had instructed Luther to abide by the agreement made with Miltitz at Altenburg in January.

Luther had in those days endeared himself to the Elector more than ever by one of the most comforting writings that have come from his pen, his *Tessaradekas*.[551] The Elector had returned quite ill from the election of Charles V, and his life was despaired of; Luther wrote this treatise to cheer and comfort him. Tessaradeka is Greek and means fourteen. The Church recognized fourteen principal helpers in need on whom persons in great distress might call. Luther substitutes for these fourteen "Nothelfer" of medieval Christianity two times seven Biblical views on which he asks the Elector to fix his mind. First, there are seven evils: in us, before us, behind us, beneath us, at our left, at our right, above us. In the same manner he depicts seven blessings. Every view is related to sin, God's grace, and the atonement of Christ. The treatise rings out triumphantly in a song of hope and victory in view of the final deliverance and the eternal rest in the Redeemer's realm of glory. This treatise was written in the brief pauses which Luther obtained while penning his bitter rejoinder to Emser.

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550) XV, 751 ff.; 2455 ff.; 757 f.; Erl., *l. c.* II, 159 ff.; 187 f.; 192 f.; 210; Erl. Ed. 53, 37.
551) X, 1816-1917.

At the same time Luther published, chiefly for laymen, a tract on the Christian's Preparation for Dying,[552] a Sermon on Confession,[553] a Sermon on Matrimony,[554] a Sermon on the Twofold Righteousness of a Believer,[555] a Sermon on Prayer and the Elevation of the Cross,[556] two Sermons on Usury,[557] a Sermon on Penitence, on Baptism,[558] on the Lord's Supper, on Excommunication, and a Sermon on Good Works,[559] prepared for the Elector's brother, Duke Johann. This sermon grew into a small book. Luther's former sermons on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer were assembled into Luther's famous catechetical trilogy, and brought out in new editions. By request of the Elector Luther also began writing his Postil, to aid incapable preachers.[560] It is simply marvelous to watch the constructive and thetical literary activity of Luther during the trying months at the close of 1519 and the beginning of 1520. The presses of Wittenberg were groaning under the tasks which Luther laid on them. For every one of his products there was an instant and eager market. High and low, burgher and peasant, were reading Luther with avidity.

In those days there occurred a sifting of men's minds from which there resulted definite alignments. The Roman party was closing its ranks everywhere for a powerful attack on Luther. All the champions whose single combats with Luther we have noted in the preceding chapters were rallying their dependents and followers around them, and were calling upon such of their prominent men as had not publicly declared themselves against Luther to show their loyalty to Rome. This brought out

552) X, 1984-2001. 553) X, 2158-2165. 554) X, 630-645.
555) X, 1262-1277. 556) X, 1414-1426. 557) X, 824-861.
558) X, 2112-2127; dedicated to Duchess Margaret of Braunschweig. X, 1230; Erl. Ed. 16, 35.
559) X, 1298-1389.
560) XV, 2478; XXIa, 201, 204; Erl. *l. c.* II, 220, 244, 263.

the University of Cologne, controlled by Eck through Hogstraten, and the University of Loewen in solemn decisions condemnatory of Luther's teachings. The Bishop of Meissen issued a decree denouncing Luther's plea for administering the communion cup to laymen, and drew from Luther a hot rejoinder.[561] The Franciscan, Augustin von Aleveld, professor at Leipzig, signaled his coming into the ranks of Luther's declared opponents with a treatise *On the Apostolic See,* which Luther answered by his book *On the Roman Papacy.*[562] Lastly, the bugle of Prierias was heard again in his *Epitome,*[563] rallying the wavering and lukewarm for a great onslaught. Whatever talent Rome commanded stood enlisted against the friar of Wittenberg.

This sifting produced other results also. A hush seemed to have fallen on the University of Erfurt.[564] Trutfetter died in December, 1519, and Luther feared that his attack on the scholastic theology had hastened his old teacher's death. The Erfurt theologians were uneasily watching the strange developments around them. The same is to be recorded regarding the Leipzig theologians, who were becoming cowed by the rising fame of their Wittenburg colleagues.[565] Even Ingolstadt acted on the reserve.

It pained Luther to notice a coolness in his former friend Staupitz. On October 3 he writes him some current gossip, and then pours out his sadness to him:—

You are leaving me. I have been sad for you to-day, as a weaned child for his mother. I pray you praise the Lord even in a sinner like me. I hate my wretched life; I fear death; I

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561) The documents relating to this lurid controversy are found in XV, 2490; 482; 1382; 1388; XXIa, 226, 229, 230, 233. Erl., *l. c.* II, 311 f.; 315 f.; 321 f.; 324 f.; 327 f., 331 f.

562) XVIII, 1002 ff. 563) XVIII, 422 ff.

564) XV, 2449; Erl., *l. c.* II, 139.

565) See letter of Luther to Mosellanus, who had complained that his Leipzig colleagues were so bitter against Luther, XXIa, 286; Erl., *l. c.* II, 451.

am empty of faith and full of qualities which Christ knows, I should much prefer to do without, were it not to serve Him thereby. Last night I had a dream about you; I dreamed that you were leaving me while I wept bitterly; but you waved to me and told me to cease weeping, for you would come back to me, which, indeed, has happened this very day. But now farewell, and pray for me in my wretchedness.[566]

From the ranks of laymen, however, there issued at this time rousing, heartening testimonials of confidence in Luther. Lazarus Spengler of Nuernberg published his *Defense of an Honest Lover of the Divine Truth of Holy Writ*.[567] Eck's sneering remark about some canons in the Roman Church who were secretly favoring Luther drew from Oecolampad and Adelmann at Augsburg a warm protestation.[568] In the midst of all their serious reflections, however, learned Europe was convulsed with laughter by a Latin dialog of Pirckheimer (or Raphael Musaeus?), which was written in the style of the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum and entitled *Eccius Dedolatus* (Eck Planed Down). Hausrath thinks that it is

perhaps the best satire that was written in Germany, because with its sturdy German humor it blends the noble dignity of antique forms. While composing his humoresque, the author's eyes were partly on the comedies of Aristophanes, partly on the fools' yarns of Brant and Hans Sachs, as his models. . . . The very first scene is magnificent: Eck, in tragical measures, is calling upon the ruler of Olympus and arbiter of the world, Jupiter, the greatest and best, to relieve him of the headache which he has contracted at the festive boards and the drinking bouts at Leipzig. The serving Ganymede is bringing him mug after mug to quench his feverish thirst. The sufferer sends for his friends; the few which respond find him sleeping, and by rousing him revive his dun-colored misery. He washes, and feels better. The friends now advise that he consult a physician. The search for the best doc-

566) XV, 2452 f.; Erl., *l. c.* II, 184; Smith, *l. c.* I, 220.
567) See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 211 f.; XXIa, 223; Erl., *l. c.* II, 296.
568) *Canonicorum Indoctorum Lutheranorum ad J. Ecc. Responsio*, XXIa, 221; Erl., *l. c.* II, 290.

tors offers an opportunity to make satirical thrusts at the hostile doctors in neighboring cities. Finally they agree on this plan: a which the brothers at Jueterbogk have falsely cooked up against and fetch the great Rubeus, who in his treatise on the debate had celebrated Eck as victor. Instead of the customary pitchfork the witch, because of the great distance, chooses to make the journey on a goat. At Leipzig Eck's panegyrist Rubeus has first to obtain a furlough from the rector, which occasions new satirical innuendoes. A surgeon, too, is requisitioned, as he might be needed for trepanning a fool. Before mounting the goat, the physician inquires whether this is not Goat Emser, the Leipzigers' dear friend, famous through his polemics with Luther. The witch assures him that the goat belongs at least to the same family. Now the witch takes her seat between the horns of the goat, Dr. Rubeus on its back, and the surgeon grasps the goat's tail. Off they go through the air over the Thuringian Forest. In their passage they descry and hail various places known to them: There is Koburg; there is Babenberg; there is Nuernberg! I see the Danube! Now we are at Ingolstadt! Eck greets the doctor: "Welcome, my Rubeus, thou rubiest of rubies!" [569]

Such products were not according to Luther's taste. He squirmed under the praise that came to him from the Humanists. They were striving for an emancipation in which he had only a secondary interest, while the evangelical liberty of a heart at rest in God's truth and the Redeemer's atoning work for which Luther strove roused no enthusiasm among them. Luther maintained an amicable relation with Crotus, who was sojourning in Italy at the time and occasionally sent him valuable information regarding the schemes of the adversaries; with the aged Reuchlin, who had become morose and was withdrawing in disgust from a strife the immense importance of which he did not appreciate; and with the universally petted Erasmus, the spoiled child of Humanism, who would occasionally express complimentary sentiments regarding Luther, but often enough revealed his utter lack of comprehension of Luther's dogmatical position. But in these days when spirits clashed

569) Hausrath, *l. c.* I, 321 f.

there was never a moment when Luther counted these Humanists as members of the Lord's host. Only one real proselyte he won from their ranks, the Erfurt Humanist Justus Jonas, who, like Luther, had exchanged the study of jurisprudence for that of theology and became an intelligent and ardent co-worker of Luther.

A leaven of discontent with Rome-rule had for more than a generation been working among the German nobility. This discontent, though arising directly from social and economical causes, from evils which the petty chiefs of Germany's landed aristocracy, the burghers, tradesmen, and guilds in their cities, and the counts, margraves, and dukes, each in his own way, were striving to eliminate, had in it a strong religious element. Religion permeated the entire life of a citizen in those days, at any rate the form of religion confronted him everywhere, in his most ordinary pursuits. The official exponents of this religion had obtained large concessions and privileges in the courts, and the Church controlled a great part of the national wealth. When this Church had become corrupt, the nation's revenues were used to feed and strengthen the corruption, and the nation's laws to protect it. The spiritual leaders of the people had become an incubus on the body politic, and while they were impoverishing the people by their extortionate practises, they were dissipating in the minds of the common people that respect for sacred matters, that piety in the homes, that social equity and civil righteousness, which are ever a nation's great bulwarks. The best among Germany's great nobility strove to restore to their people this heritage of domestic piety and reverence for God and His ordinances which they saw slipping away under the rule of the self-indulgent and carnal-minded clergy. They observed the powerful effect which Luther's homely

preaching and writings had on the common man, and the change which it produced in the conversations around the hearthstone in the evening, in the relation of husband and wife, parents and children, in the schools and in the service at church, in the streets and market-place, in the shops of the mechanics and the booths and stores of the traders. Everywhere a new life was manifesting itself, and a new interest in all that tends to the ennobling of life. Among the princes and noblemen of Germany those who really loved their subjects and endeavored to perform for them the ruler's true tasks of safeguarding them in their legitimate interests, and guiding and protecting them in their honest pursuits and in a quiet, upright life, were the first to introduce the Reformation.

Add to this the awakening of national self-consciousness which is beginning to be noticed at this time. Rome's political meddling had for many hundreds of years not only weakened the power of German rulers, even of the Emperor himself, but it had also cowed the spirit of patriotism in the people. Germany seemed to be destined to vassalage under some foreign power. To keep it divided and humble was the policy of its foreign masters. This simple, trustful people, so great in the fundamental virtues of humanity, yielded itself meekly to the domination of Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen. At the imperial election in those days a Frenchman had contested with a Spaniard for the German crown, and Germany's most respected prince, the Saxon Elector, had declined to enter the contest. But Italian insolence had changed this attitude of submissiveness. A man like the knight Hutten winced when at Augsburg he heard the haughty Cajetan remark with reference to the subservient German princes: "What magnificent stable-boys we of Rome are having here!" Many a German knight

had clenched his fist in impotent rage at the crafty Italian priests who were making him feel in a hundred different ways that they were the real lords and masters in Germany. Still more was Rome's overbearing rule resented in the free cities of Germany, proud of their covenanted rights and privileges, which not infrequently had been wrested from grasping Roman bishops, jealous of their autonomy. The burghers in these cities often resented an affront to the honor of their community more promptly than the noblemen. Moreover, the rich and cultured patricians and senators in these cities, who had traveled much and had attended high schools in foreign countries, knew that in learning, art, literature, painting, in the products of the various crafts Germany's workmen not only were not inferior to their foreign competitors, but surpassed them by their thorough workmanship, the naturalness of their conceptions of a given task, and of their methods for executing it. There was also expressed in their work a peculiar charm for which it is difficult to find an adequate English term: the German "Sinnigkeit," the soulfulness which is betrayed instinctively by every one who works at something because he loves just that work. Medieval cities like Nuernberg, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Worms, with their art treasures have excited the admiration of foreign travelers, as contemporaneous chronicles witness.

In the preface to his exposition of Galatians Luther expresses his joy that over and against Rome the German estates had asserted their own authority:

> They are treating every German as a dunce, a simpleton, a booby, or, as they express it, as a barbarian and a brute; they laugh at our incredible patience while they are making fun of us and picking our pockets. . . . I am coming back to the city of Augsburg and shall follow the decision which the princes of Germany at the last Diet rendered, when by a truly holy and inspiring distinction they separated the Roman Church from the Roman Curia. For on what other grounds could they have re-

fused the tithes which had been decreed by a sacrosanct Roman council and were demanded by an exalted legate of the Apostolic See, except by the prudent reason which they conceived at last, though rather late, that those tithes were not imposed by the Roman Church, but represented a design of the Roman Curia? [570]

On this patriotic ground Luther's sentiment met and coalesced with the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of Germans. Rightly understood, Luther's reformation is a German achievement; it is shot through with German fervor and feeling, oriented by German viewpoints, carried forward by German obstinacy. How could it be anything else? Reforming Frenchmen in those days are seen acting as Frenchmen usually do, Englishmen like Englishmen. That it was this German movement that led to a complete emancipation is not claimed as a merit of the Germans: that is due to the dispensation of Providence which employs any and all of us for its purposes. But there is certainly neither reason nor sense in faulting Luther's reformatory acts for bearing a distinctly German stamp. Truth is, this German peasant's son in his straightforward German way saved the day for the liberties of the world.

It is historically incorrect, however, to claim an alliance, or conspiracy, between the German nobility and Luther for the overthrow of the papacy. At Augsburg Luther and Ulrich von Hutten could have met, but there is no evidence that either the monk or the knight made any effort to know the other. Luther's attention was not drawn to Hutten until 1520, when he received from a friend the treatise of Laurentius Valla on the Constantine Donation which Hutten had republished.[571] This treatise proves that Rome's claim of secular authority, which is based on this donation, is a myth. In those days, when

570) VIII, 1359 f.
571) XXIa, 234; Erl., *l. c.* II, 332.

the Saxon Elector had been sorely beset by the Pope to sacrifice Luther to his rage, the rumor, as we saw, had spread far and wide that Luther must leave Wittenberg and find an asylum elsewhere. After Miltitz's mission had failed, Luther seemed safe; but a similar situation like the one in November, 1518, arose for him when his sermon on administering the cup to laymen was denounced by the Bishop of Meissen and Luther replied in hot anger to the bishop's missive. The Elector was displeased, and Spalatin had to expostulate with Luther. Then it was that Melanchthon received an invitation from Hutten, who wrote also in the name of his host Franz von Sickingen, to come and make his home with the latter. Sickingen had asked Hutten to write to Luther direct, but for reasons of his own Hutten chose to reach Luther by way of Melanchthon. The letter written January 20 came back undelivered to Hutten, who dispatched it a second time February 28. On April 28, 1520, Luther was urged to accept Sickingen's offer by Crotus, who had met Hutten at Bamberg.[572] Crotus may have known more about Eck's machinations at Rome than he cared to divulge. On May 11 the Franconian knight Silvester von Schauenburg promised Luther an asylum and protection against persecution until his case should be tried by a general council,[573] and on June 11 the same nobleman informed Luther that, if need be, he hoped to be able to rally a hundred noblemen to Luther's defense.[574] But not until May 31, 1520, Luther enters into correspondence with Hutten and Sickingen, and that, through Spalatin, whom he asks to forward his letters.[575] Hutten answered June 4, and told him that the rumor was abroad that Luther had been

572) Erl., *l. c.* II, 392. 573) XV, 2504; Erl., *l. c.* II, 402.
574) XV, 1631; Erl., *l. c.* II, 415.
575) XXIa, 262; Erl., *l. c.* II, 466.

excommunicated.[576] But beyond expressing his joy that such influential men are ready to aid him we have no evidence that Luther ever entertained the thought of a political *coup d'etat* against Rome by their aid. His plan was to bring about a change in the existing state of affairs by the orderly process of legislation and through the appointed magistrates. He staked great hopes in this respect on the newly elected emperor Charles V, and so did the German nobility (only to be soon undeceived). To this end it was necessary to restore the secular authority to those who were chosen to wield it, and to this end Luther wished to help by his epochal *Appeal to the Nobility.*

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30. The Appeal to the Nobility.

With a dedication to his colleague Amsdorf, who was of noble descent, there appeared at Wittenberg in the first days of August[577] that stirring address to his Imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility in which Luther showed all Germany how they might bring order out of the chaos into which Rome-rule had plunged the nation.[578] In a few days the edition was sold out, and a second edition had to be printed, in which Luther inserted a new paragraph, to refute the claim of the Popes that the Holy Roman Empire had been transferred to them by a Greek emperor, and that the Popes had bestowed it on Germany.

In the opening sections of the appeal Luther says:—

The time for silence is past, and the time to speak has come, as Ecclesiastes says.[579] In accordance with our resolve we have put together some points relating to the Reformation of the Christian Estate, which are to be placed before the Chris-

576) XV, 1633; Erl., *l. c.* II, 408.
577) The dedication was dated June 25, 1520. 578) X, 266-351.
579) Chap. 3, 7.

tian Nobility of the German Nation, in the hope that God may be pleased to help His Church through the laity, inasmuch as the clergy, whom it should rather behoove to do this, has become quite careless. I send all this to your Worship, to pass judgment on it, and wherever it is necessary to amend it. I reflect indeed that for this I shall not go unreproached, as though I am far too presumptuous—despised and abandoned as I am! —in daring to address such high and great estates on such momentous and great affairs, just as if there were nobody else in the world except Dr. Luther to manifest concern for the Christian estate, and to give advice to such highly intelligent people. I refrain from offering apologies; let whosoever will reproach me. Perhaps I still owe my God and the world one more folly. This debt I have now resolved, if I can, to pay honestly, and for once to become a court-fool myself; if I do not succeed, I shall still have an advantage; nobody will need to buy me a fool's cap, nor to trim my poll. But it's a wager who is to fasten the bells on the other. I must live up to the saying: "Whatever there is for the world to accomplish, a monk must be in it, even if men would have to paint one."[580] Many a time, I suppose, a fool has spoken wisely, and many a time wise folk have committed gross follies, as St. Paul says: "If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool."[581] Moreover, being not only a fool, but also a sworn Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, I am glad that an occasion is offered me of fulfilling my oath, just in this fool's way. I beg you to excuse me to the moderately wise, for I know not how to merit the favor and grace of the excessively wise, which I have so often sought with much labor, and which henceforth I care not to have nor to esteem.

At Wittenberg, in the Augustinian convent, on the eve of St. John the Baptist's, in the year 1520.

To his most serene, high and mighty imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, Dr. Martin Luther.

The grace and might of God be with you, most serene Majesty, most gracious and dear sirs! It is not from sheer meddlesomeness nor mischievousness that I, a single poor man, have presumed to address your lordships. The distress and misery which oppress all estates in Christendom, Germany above all, have moved not only myself, but everybody to cry out many a time and to call for help, and they have also at this time forced me to cry out and call, if God would give His Spirit to any one to lend a hand to the wretched nation. Councils have often put forward some remedy, but it was adroitly frustrated, and matters continued growing worse, through the cunning of certain men, into whose wiles and malice I intend now, by the help of God, to let the light shine, in order that, finding themselves discovered, they may henceforth not be so obstructive and injuri-

580) This is the equivalent of the Latin: "Monachus semper praesens.

581) 1 Cor. 3, 18.

ous. God has now placed at our head a young and noble scion, and has thereby kindled in many hearts a great and good hope. In view of this it would behoove us to do our part and to use this gracious opportunity profitably

The contents of the Appeal have been sketched in an excellent analysis by Dr. Smith:—

"The Romanists have built three walls about themselves with great dexterity, with which they have hitherto protected themselves so that no one has been able to reform them, and the whole of Christendom has consequently declined. The first wall is, that if the civil authority presses them, they affirm that civil government has no rights over them, but contrariwise spiritual over temporal. Secondly, if one would punish them by the Bible, they oppose it by saying that no one has a right to interpret the Bible except the Pope. Thirdly, if they are threatened with a general council, they pretend that only the Pope has the right to summon a council. So they have privily stolen three rods from us to remain unpunished, and they have entrenched themselves in these three walls to do all rascality and evil. . . . May God now give us one of the trumpets by which the walls of Jericho were thrown down. . . .

"The first wall consists in the discovery that the Pope, bishops, priests, and monks are the spiritual estate, whereas princes, lords, laborers and peasants are the temporal estate. . . . But all Christians are really of the spiritual estate and there is no difference except of office, . . . for we were all made priests by Baptism, . . . a higher consecration than any that Pope or bishop gives. But handling God's Word and the Sacrament is simply the work of the priest, bishop, and Pope, as bearing the sword and punishing evil is the work of the civil magistrate. Even so cobblers, smiths, and peasants, though consecrated priests and bishops, have their own work. Each one should help his neighbor's body and soul as the members of the body serve one another.

"Now one may see how Christian is their law that the temporal authority has no right to punish the spiritual. That is as much as to say that when the eye is suffering, the hand should do nothing for it. . . . Wherefore the temporal powers of Christendom should freely exercise their office, not regarding whether it is Pope, bishop, or priest that they punish, but only that the guilty suffer.

"The second wall is still frailer and poorer, the claim, namely, that they alone are masters of the Bible. Although their whole life long they learn nothing in it, yet they presume to say that they alone understand it, and juggle with such words as that the Pope cannot err; be he bad or good, one cannot teach him a letter! It is for this reason that so many heretical and unchristian, yes, unnatural laws stand in the Canon Law. . . .

"The third wall falls of itself when the first two are down; for when the Pope acts against Scripture, we are bound by Scripture to punish and compel him." There is no Scriptural proof that the Pope only can call a council; to assert this is like saying, "if a fire break out in a city every one should stand still and let it go on and burn as it pleases, because the private citizens have not the power of the mayor, or because the fire started in the mayor's house. . . . No one in Christendom has the right to do harm."

Now we will examine the articles which should properly be treated by a council. If the Pope and bishops loved Christ, they would busy themselves with them day and night; but as they do not love Christ, let the temporal power attend to them, not regarding the bans and thunders of the clergy, for one unjust ban is better than ten just absolutions, and one unjust absolution worse than ten just bans. . . .

1. It is horrible and terrible to see that the Primate of all Christendom, who boasts he is Christ's Vicar and St. Peter's follower, should live in more worldly pomp than any king or emperor, and that he who is called "most holy and spiritual" is really more worldly than the world itself. The Pope should therefore be forced to live more simply.

"2. What is the use of that people in Christendom who are called cardinals? I will tell you. Italy and Germany have many rich cloisters, foundations, livings, and benefices which people do not know how to turn to the profit of Rome better than by making cardinals and giving them abbacies and bishoprics, though in so doing they trample God's service under foot. . . . I advise that the cardinals be reduced in number, or else that the Pope support them from his own purse. Twelve would be enough with one thousand gulden a year." 582)

3. The papal court should be reduced to one-hundredth part of its present size. Germany gives more to the Pope than to the Emperor. The annates (one-half the income of one year payable by all appointees of benefices) should be abolished, as well as raising money by the Pope under pretext of the Turkish war. The numerous reservations of the Pope to appointments in certain months and to certain livings should be curtailed. Palls should no longer be sold to archbishops, and the habit of appointing old and sickly men to offices in order to have a fresh vacancy soon should be stopped. Another crying abuse is plurality; Luther has heard of one man in Rome who holds twenty-two livings, seven provostships, and forty-four canonries. Simony and the transfer of appointments under the fraudulent pretext of a "mental reservation" on the part of the Pope is a sin and a shame. In short, at Rome, "there is a buying and selling, a change and exchange, a crying and lying, fraud, robbery, theft, luxury, boredom, rascality and despite of God in every way, so

582) =$500, in purchasing power worth about twenty times as much, —yea, sixty times as much in 1920.

that it would not be possible for Antichrist to outdo Rome in iniquity." There all things are sold, and all laws can be abrogated for money. "Let no one think I exaggerate: it is public; they cannot deny it." If I want to fight the Turks, the worst Turks are those in Italy.

"Now, though I am too little to propose articles for the reformation of such things, yet will I sing my fool's game to the end and say, as much as my reason is able, what might and should be done by the temporal power or a general council."

1. Each prince should forbid annates.

2. No foreigners should be allowed to take benefices.

3. An imperial law should be made that no ecclesiastic should go to Rome to get any dignity, and that whoever appealed to Rome should lose his office.

4. No legal cause should be appealed to Rome.[583]

5. There should be no more papal reservations.

6. There should be no more *casus reservati* (legal actions which could be heard only in Rome).

7. The Pope should abolish most offices, and support the rest himself.

8. Bishops should be invested by the civil magistrates as in France, and not obliged to swear allegiance to the Pope.

9. The Pope should claim no authority over the Emperor, whom he should crown only as a bishop does a king. It is ridiculous for the Pope to claim when the Empire is vacant, he inherits it. The Donation of Constantine is an unexampled lie.

10. The Pope should give up his pretensions to Naples and Sicily.

11. Kissing the Pope's foot and other silly signs of respect should be abolished.

12. There should be no more pilgrimages to Rome, especially in the years of jubilee. No one should undertake any pilgrimages without the consent of his pastor.

13. The begging friars are a curse. Many monasteries should be suppressed and no more founded. It would be an excellent thing if the inmates were allowed to leave when they pleased, "as in the time of the apostles and long after."

14. "We see how it has happened that many a poor priest is burdened with wife and child and wounded in his conscience, and yet no one does aught to help him. . . . I advise that it be left free to every man to marry or not as he chooses. . . . Those who live together as man and wife are surely married before God."

15. It is a shame that in the cloisters abbots and abbesses make their brothers and sisters confess their secret sins and then persuade them that they are going to hell.

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583) Smith adds this gloss: Compare these provisions with the English statutes of Provisors and Praemunire.

16. Vigils and private masses should be abolished or reduced in number.

17. "Certain pains and penalties provided by the Canon Law must be done away, especially the interdict, which was doubtless invented by the evil spirit. For is it not the devil's work to mend a sin by doing greater sin? And is it not an enormous sin to stop all divine services?"

18. All saints' days and holidays should be done away except Sunday; for now they are only spent in drunkenness, gaming, and idleness.

19. Marriages between distant relations should be allowed, as their prohibition is only a means of the Pope getting money. Fasts should be left free.

20. Shrines and chapels in fields and woods should be taken down. Pilgrimages to them cause all kinds of disorders. It makes no difference if miracles are performed at these shrines; "for were there no other sign that these are not of God, this would be enough, that men flock to them like cattle without reason." If the authorities refuse to abate these nuisances, let every man resolve not to be deceived by them.

21. One of the greatest needs is that begging should be prohibited throughout Christendom. Each city should take care of its own poor, and nothing should be given to sturdy pilgrims and friars. "There is no other trade in which there is so much rascality and cheating as mendicancy."

22. Foundations and canonries should be reduced to a small number in the cathedrals, which would serve to support children of the nobility. Pluralities should be forbidden.

23. Religious brotherhoods and such things should be abolished. Papal commissaries ought to be chased out of the country.

24. It is high time that some effort be made to heal the Bohemian schism. It should be granted that Hus and Jerome of Prague were wrongly burned. "If I knew that the Beghards had no other error about the Sacrament of the Altar than the belief that it was natural bread and wine, though the flesh of Christ were in it, I would not cast them out, but let them live under the Bishop of Prague; for it is not an article of faith to believe that natural bread and wine are not in the Sacrament,—which is a delusion of Aquinas and the Pope,—but merely to believe that true and natural flesh and blood is in the bread and wine. . . ."

25. "The universities need a good, stiff reform; I must say it, let it offend whom it may. . . . It is my advice that the books of Aristotle,—*Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *The Soul*, and *Ethics*,—which have hitherto been esteemed the best, be entirely removed from the curriculum, together with all others which boast that they teach natural science, although from them one learns neither natural nor spiritual things. No one has ever understood Aristotle's meaning, and yet this study is kept to waste time and burden the soul. I venture to think that a potter has more

natural science than is contained in all those books. It is a sorrow to my heart that that cursed, arrogant, rascally heathen has made fools of so many of the best Christians. God has plagued us thus for our sins. In his best book, *On the Soul,* Aristotle teaches that the soul dies with the body. . . . There is no worse book than his *Ethics,* which goes directly counter to God's grace and Christian virtue. . . . But I would gladly allow Aristotle's books on *Logic, Rhetoric,* and *Poetics* to be kept, at least in an abbreviated form, without elaborate commentaries. . . . Besides these studies I recommend Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and history. . . .

"The schools of medicine I will allow to reform themselves, but take the schools of law and theology to myself. To the former I say that it were good that the whole Canon Law, from the first to the last letter, especially the Decretals, were eradicated. More than enough law is to be found in the Bible. . . . And moreover, the law of the Church nowadays is not what is written in the books, but whatever the Pope or his followers want. . . . God help us! What a wilderness the Civil law has become! Although it is much better and wiser than the Canon Law—in which, except God's name, there is nothing good,—yet there is far too much of it. . . . It seems to me that the laws of each State of the Empire should have precedence over the Imperial Law, which should only be used in case of need. Would to God that each land had its own short law as each has its special nature and gifts."

In the schools of divinity the Bible should be supreme, and other works be duly subordinated.

Each city should have schools for boys and girls, where the Gospel should be read to them either in Latin or German.

26. It should no more be taught that the Pope, having transferred the Empire to the Germans, has superiority over the Emperor.

27. It is now time to speak of some things amiss in the civil polity, having thoroughly treated the abuses of the Church.

Sumptuary laws should be passed, restraining extravagance in dress. "But the greatest misfortune to Germany is usury. . . . A bridle should be put in the mouth of the Fuggers and such companies, who make from twenty to one hundred per cent. on their money annually." It would be better to increase agriculture and diminish commerce.

It is shameful that Christians should allow brothels. The chief sinners in these places are the clergy. No man should therefore be allowed to vow celibacy before thirty.[584]

During the preparation of the *Appeal* Luther had received a warning from Staupitz not to publish it. Staupitz, who was at Erfurt at the time, had been urged by

584) Smith, *Life and Letters,* etc., pp. 80-85.

the General of the order, Venetus, to do something at last to stop Luther. Also Link sent Luther an urgent warning.[585] When these warnings arrived, 4,000 copies of the *Appeal* had already been sold, so Luther informs Lang, who called the *Appeal* "a classical, though a fierce and terrible booklet."[586] Also the Elector had been made restive again by a letter which Cardinal Raphael wrote to him, warning him in the strongest terms to drop Luther. In a letter to Spalatin July 10, 1520, Luther expresses his determination to quit Saxony, but not to stop preaching or writing.

I am sending the letter of the Franconian noblemen, Silvester Schauenberg, and if it be not too much trouble, I should like to have the Elector mention this in his letter to the Cardinal of St. George,[587] in order that they may know that, if they should drive me out of Wittenberg by their bans and maledictions, they would only make a bad matter worse. For now there are people, not only in Bohemia, but in the heart of Germany, who can and will protect the exile against their fulminations. Accordingly, there is danger that, safe in the protection of these people, I might rage more violently against the Romanists than when fighting in my office as public teacher under the government of the Elector. And this will undoubtedly happen, unless God interposes. Nor, to be sure, will it be necessary then to regard the Elector's interests, as hitherto I have done in many matters, even when I had been provoked.

Accordingly, they are to know that for my reluctance so far to act against them they have to thank, not my modesty, nor their own tyranny, but the good name and reputation of the Elector and the common interests of the students at Wittenberg. As far as I am concerned, now that they have cast the die for me, I view the Roman raging and the Roman favor with contempt. I have no desire to be reconciled with them nor to have any fellowship with them now and evermore. Let them condemn and burn my writings; I shall, on my part (if I can only obtain the fuel somehow), condemn and burn publicly the entire papal law, that is, the entire cesspool of heresies, and there will be an end of the humility, and deference which I have observed and shown them heretofore; for I am determined that the enemies of the Gospel shall no longer make their boast of my deference.

585) XV, 1638; Erl., *l. c.* II, 461; XXIa, 292; Erl., *l. c.* II, 462 f.
586) XV, 1638; Erl., *l. c.* II, 461.
587) Raphael Petrucci; however, in the list of cardinals he is given as tituli S. Susannae. The letter of the Elector to the cardinal is found in XV, 440.

The longer I reflect upon the letter of the Cardinal St. George, the more I despise those whom I behold in such convulsions, caused by sheer cowardice and an extremely bad conscience, as if even with their last breath they would still feign savagery. With an effort they seek to defend their ignorance, but they are afraid that they might not succeed as luckily as yesterday and the day before. But the Lord, who knows that I am an utterly abominable sinner, will carry His cause forward either through me or through some one else; of that I have no doubt. Farewell.

(Enclosed Note.)

The Elector might also add the following, *viz.*, that the Lutheran doctrine had now become spread so far and so deeply rooted in Germany and territories beyond, that, if the Romanists did not refute it with sound arguments and with the Scriptures, it was to be feared by their violence and church fines they would accomplish nothing else than to make Germany Bohemia twice over. For as they themselves know, there are among the Germans hotheads whom it would not be safe even for many Popes to provoke, unless they were reduced to submission by Scripture and reason, especially at this time, when the sciences and languages are dominant in Germany and laymen are beginning to grow wise. For this reason the Elector, as becomes a Christian prince, means to anticipate trouble and to give warning, lest, relying on some power, they might in a wanton manner undertake something without having previously stated a plain reason, in order that they might not excite an uprising against themselves which they would not be able to put down. I should believe that this would prove quite a shock to those craven Romanists. However, your judgment is to prevail in this as in all matters.[588]

While Luther was engaged upon the preparation of the *Appeal,* two incidents occurred which stirred him profoundly. First, he was shown the *Epitome* of Prierias, to which we referred in a previous chapter. In a way it furnished Luther a welcome proof for his assertion that the Roman papacy was a conspiracy of designing priests to set up a world dominion. But the boldness with which the claim for the overlordship of the Pope was set forth by Prierias both shocked and saddened Luther. He published the *Epitome* with the following preface:—

Martin Luther wishes the pious reader salvation.

Hitherto, kind reader, you have seen me deal with my Sil-

588) XV, 2500 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* II, 432 f.; Smith, *Life,* etc., p. 74 f.

vester in a joking and playful manner rather than by way of a serious attack. I was given the courage to do this because I saw that this man, who is not only uncultured and of a coarse mind, but also held captive in Thomistic darkness and the hocus-pocus of the Popes, or, rather, the decretals of quite unlearned writers, sought to gain a victory over me by a sort of simple feeble-mindedness.

However, it is now coming to the light what horrible intentions he has been pursuing; for the miserable fellow, in order to take revenge on me for my bantering remarks to him, has now published an *Epitome,* or to speak Greek, *à la* Silvester, an *"Epitoma*[589] of a Reply to Martin Luther," which is filled from a to izzard with so many and such gross blasphemies that I am inclined to believe this little book was edited by the devil himself in mid-hell. If this is what they think and teach at Rome with the knowledge of the Pope and the Cardinals (which I hope not!), I frankly declare by this publication that the very Antichrist is sitting in the temple of God and ruling in yonder Babylon, clothed in scarlet,[590] at Rome, and that the Roman Curia is the synagog of Satan.[591]

What shall I say? He sets every Pope, even a wicked one, up for a god, and makes the power of the Holy Scriptures, that is, the power of the Word of God, which is God Himself, to depend upon the authority of this man, even if he is godless; although all confess in unison that the Pope derives his authority from the statements of Christ: "Thou art Peter," and: "Feed My Sheep,"[592] that is, that the Scriptures do not grow out of the authority of the Pope, but the authority of the Pope is derived from the Scriptures. Accordingly, whenever they are forced into closer quarters, they hurry to nothing else than to this Holy Scripture, as to a refuge within which they purpose to fortify and defend themselves. But this Satan now fortifies Scripture by a man. If a Pope of this kind is not Antichrist, who is? O Satan, Satan; how long wilt thou abuse the patience of thy Creator for thine own awful grief?

I might gladly concede to this miserable Silvester that Scripture derives its power from the Pope, as that will be the only way for denying and overthrowing at one stroke the tyranny of the Popes. For if they establish the papacy from Scripture, and secure the authority of Scripture by the authority of the Pope, the papacy cannot be founded on any other testimony than its own, and the Pope exists, not by divine, but by his own right. But what need have I of refuting the plain rabies of the blasphemous Satan? The best refutation will be to publish his book, just as it has appeared, without any addition; it contains its own refutation, and that is more powerful than I can wish.

589) Instead of treating epitome as a feminine noun of the first declension (*epitome, -es*) Prierias makes it a neuter noun of the third declension (*epitoma, -tis*).
590) Rev. 18, 16.
591) Rev. 13, 6.
592) Matt. 16, 18; John 21, 17.

Accordingly, dear, reader, peruse this book and moan over the fearful degradation of the glory of the Roman Church, which is not only producing and cherishing this heretical, blasphemous, devilish, hellish poison within itself, but is even spreading it in all the world. Begone, all ye who boast that the Roman Church was never contaminated with a heresy! This single Silvester surpasses Arius, Manes, Pelagius, and all other heretics to such an extent that they cannot be compared with him.

If this is what Rome believes, then happy art thou, Greece, happy art thou, Bohemia, happy are all ye who have become separated from Rome and are gone out of the midst of this Babylon. On the other hand, cursed are all who hold communion with her. And if the Pope and the cardinals will not command this Satanic speaker to hush and to recant what he has said, I, too, wish to confess herewith, as by a testimonial, that I hold no communion with the Roman Church, and that I renounce her, together with the Pope and the cardinals as the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.[593] Within her community faith has now become extinct, the Gospel proscribed, Christ banished, and her morals have become worse than those of barbarians. There was but one hope remaining: the inviolate authority of Holy Scripture, and at least its correct sense, even though it has not been understood. Now Satan captures also this citadel of Zion and tower of David which hitherto was impregnable.

Farewell, then, unhappy, abandoned, blasphemous Rome! The wrath of God is come upon thee at last, as thou hast deserved. In spite of the many prayers that are offered for thee thou wast bent on growing worse from day to day. "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her";[594] let her "be a habitation of dragons, doleful creatures, and satyrs, and a court for owls."[595] Let her be what her name signifies, an everlasting disgrace, full to vomiting of the idols of mammon, perjurers, apostates, dogs, priapists, murderers, simoniacs, and innumerable other monsters—a sort of modern pantheon of godlessness.

Farewell, dear reader; pardon my grief, and have pity.[596]

The other incident was a riot among the students, who had picked quarrels with the police of the town, and claimed that the city judge was not fair to them. It was one of the ever recurring brawls between town and gown that are common in university cities. The students threatened to burn the town. Luther was greatly excited over the tumultuous proceedings; he charged the rector

593) Matt. 24, 15.
594) Jer. 51, 8.
595) Is. 13, 21; 34, 13.
596) XVIII, 422-427.

with lack of judgment in permitting the students, especially the noblemen among them, who were the leaders, to bear arms, and on Sunday, July 15, administered a sharp rebuke from the pulpit to the rioters. One of the students became so angry that he cried out: "If that monk preaches another sermon of that kind, I shall crush his pate with a rock right here in church." The faculty believed that Luther had misjudged the students and gone too far in his reprimand. Luther admitted, on closer investigation, that he had taken too serious a view of puerile pranks of the students, but to Spalatin he poured out his sadness that God's work was being checked by His own children. He charged himself with having become overconfident and unduly lifted up because Sickingen and Schauenburg had offered him their protection: therefore God had permitted the devil to start this scandal at his very door. From the disturbance he drew this lesson for himself and all concerned, *viz.,* that the Lord's work cannot be advanced by men's prudent counsels, nor by their might, but only by humble prayer and trust in His sustaining mercy. In a trice, as it had started, the disturbance passed, and peace and good will reigned again.[597] But does the reader estimate the self-control that had to be exercised amid such agonizing experiences by the man who wrote the *Appeal,* just in those days, and not only the *Appeal,* but also *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church?*

31. The Babylonian Captivity of the Church.

The rapidity with which Luther formed resolutions and carried them out, and his faithful compliance with any promise he had made is seen in the publication of

597) XXIa, 278 f.; 281; 285; XV, 2595; Erl., *l. c.* II, 439, 441, 443, 445, 457

his Sermon on the Mass,[598] which he had completed in manuscript August 3, a few days before his *Appeal* came off the press. While the *Appeal* was being printed, he had written this sermon in fulfilment of a promise he had made in his Sermon on Good Works for Duke Johann. In that sermon the punctilious observance of a hundred minutiae of the breviary of the Mass which the rule of the Church demanded of the celebrant had suggested to Luther the question whether this showy performance of the central rite of the Church, which she has surrounded with so much pomp and veiled with such mystery, was a good work at all. He must have remembered the terror which had seized him in his early days when he had to read mass, and the constant uneasiness which oppressed him during the act and after it, lest he might have forgotten any of the formalities prescribed in the canon. In this Sermon on the Mass he starts out with the declaration that Christ has not distinguished His Church by many laws which she must execute, but by many blessings which He wants her to enjoy freely. On the basis of the common experience of men and on the authority of Scripture Luther asserts: The fewer laws are issued, the better a thing is done. Less commanding and more doing—doing with a ready and willing mind, that is the governing principle in the true service of God. He proceeds to lay open the real meaning of "the Mass" as he understands it; it is Christ's dying bequest to His believers, His last will and testament, in which He settles upon them under the visible elements of bread and wine the rich heritage of His pardon for all their trespasses, and seals their hope of everlasting life by solemnly bestowing upon them the body which was offered and the

598) XIX, 1036-1067; in the St. L. Ed. the sermon is inscribed "Sermon concerning the New Testament."

blood which was shed for the atonement of their guilt. The great thing in this act are the words of promise: "Take, eat; take, drink; this is given for you for the remission of sins." The true Mass, then, is the holy Eucharist, in which Christ feeds the soul with heavenly manna. It is a sacrament in which God gives to, not a sacrifice in which He receives from, the communicant. Luther does not eliminate entirely the idea of a sacrifice from the Mass, but the sacrifice that he wants the communicant to offer is not that which the priest offers up in an unbloody manner at the altar, but the self-sacrifice of a consistent Christian life, which the believer not only during the few minutes of his communing, but throughout his life renders to the Lord who loved him and gave Himself for him. The oblatory sacrifice of the Roman Mass is to Luther even at this time the greatest abomination among the holy rites of that Church. The sacrifice which he inculcates in this sermon makes every believing communicant a true priest. Those who believe the forgiveness of their sins, sealed to them by the memorials of the death that occurred on Calvary, and who view God as their loving Father in heaven, who has prepared life everlasting for them through His Son, "are all true priests celebrating a true mass. The true priestly function is faith. Therefore all Christian men are priests, all Christian women are priests; old and young, masters and servants, mistresses and maids, learned doctors and laymen, all are priests; there is here no difference, unless they differ in faith." Incidentally Luther insists that at this sacred rite the German language must be used among Germans.

While this sermon was being printed, Luther was already engaged on another task. In his reply to Alveld of Leipzig, in which he had spoken his mind on

the primacy of the Pope, he had stated at the close that there was in him "another little song about Rome" which he would soon start to sing. At this time Aleveld issued another treatise against Luther, and at Cremona a Dominican signing his name "F. J. Italus" [599] published a brochure entitled *Luther's Recantation,* in which Luther was falsely represented as having abjured his errors and returned to the bosom of the Holy Father. "To madden these vipers still more," Luther now proceeded to show them how much ground they had for publishing his recantation. On Saturday after October 3 there issued from the press the second of his great reformatory writings of 1520: *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church.* [600] It was dedicated to Luther's colleague Tulich, professor of logic and rhetoric. The title for this brochure was chosen designedly. In his *Appeal to the Nobility* Luther had depicted the servitude to which the Church had been reduced by a multitude of laws, edicts, prohibitions, relating to external things and infringing on the natural rights of man. That, however, in Luther's view was not the real serfdom that had been forced upon Christ's free sons and daughters. The most galling yoke which Rome had fastened on the Church Luther beheld in the spiritual tyranny exercised upon the souls and consciences of men. The Church had wrested to herself the regulation of all the means of grace over which Christ has placed her as steward, that she should administer them freely to those for whom He had ordained them. The Church by her endless canons had fenced in, and by her wanton decrees had changed the substance of, the means of grace, particularly the Sacraments ordained by Christ. Moreover, she had wantonly instituted new sacraments that are no

599) Erl., *l. c.* II, 527. 600) XIX, 4-129.

sacraments, but figments of papistic theologians, which the popular beliefs of the ignorant masses have surrounded with numberless superstitions. By this means Rome has brought about a state of servitude for the members of the Church that can be fitly compared to the bondage of the Hebrew exiles who were deported to Babylon and sat mourning by the river Chebar, while their harps hung upon the willows. Those ancient days of the captivity are duplicated by the present Rome-rule.

Luther now proceeds to investigate the seven sacraments of Roman theology. He starts with a review of the Roman teaching on the Lord's Supper, and scores as errors and gross deformations of Christ's ordinance the withdrawal of the cup from laymen, the dogma of transubstantiation, the teaching that the Mass is a sacrifice. The essence of Baptism, he holds, has been preserved inviolate by Rome, but the superstitious rites with which Rome has loaded this Sacrament, and the arbitrary laws which it has attached to it, the silly deductions by which it estabishes a religious relationship between the sponsors and the party baptized, and binds all these rules upon the conscience of men as if they were divine laws and parts of the Sacraments,—these matters are intolerable infringements upon Christian liberty. Of the same nature are the vows which she demands at the administration of this Sacrament. Luther is still willing to admit as a third sacrament that of Penitence, or we should rather say, Absolution; for it is this feature of confession, that in it the confessor conveys to the penitent the pardon of God for the removal of guilt, and thus brings comfort to a stricken heart, that impresses Luther and induces him to accord to this act the name of a sacrament. He scores, however, in this

connection the greed and tyranny practised by confessors through the annoying and distressing penances which they imposed on their parishioners, their inhuman demand that every sin must be stated in detail, and their indifference to genuine contrition and faith, for which they substitute their hypocritical attrition. The remaining four sacraments of the Roman system: confirmation, matrimony, priestly ordination and extreme unction, Luther rejects as sacraments, and explains what is valuable and what perverse in these church rites. Rome's tampering with the married estate by her arbitrary laws of consanguinity and divorce, its papal dispensations, and the general dishonor which it has heaped upon this estate by the celibacy of her priests and their unnatural sexual life, is exhibited with telling force. Throughout this treatise, in accordance with the nature of the subject, Luther emphasizes the sole authority of the Scriptures, and in one section explodes the favorite claim of Rome's theologians that the Bible itself derives its authority from the Church, because the Church has determined what is the Bible. Luther shows that faith in the Scriptures is from, and by means of, the Scriptures. The Bible, in his views, is self-authenticating, and exerts its power on man by its inherent virtue.

Luther closed this treatise with a defiant note to his enemies. He tells them that since they had spread the news of his recantation, they might consider this treatise the first part of that recantation; the second part would soon follow and would be something the like of which Rome had not heard or seen before. He tells them also that he has heard rumors of his excommunication, and in view of that appends to his treatise the first stanza of the old Latin hymn "Herodes, hostis impie":

> Why, Herod, unrelenting foe,
> Does Christ the Lord's birth move thee so?
> He doth no earthly kingdom crave
> Who unto us heaven's kingdom gave.

This treatise of Luther fell like a bomb into the camp of the enemies. It was a far more telling shot than the *Appeal to the Nobility;* the latter had inflicted many a flesh-wound on her organism, but this treatise struck her vitals. It knocked the whole foundation of her sacramental system into smithereens. Its first effect on the Roman theologians was gasping breathlessness; they were stunned and dazed by this terrific theological solar plexus. Then they broke forth in rage,—and have been raging ever since. When she remembers *The Babylonian Captivity,* the Roman Church cannot but think of Luther with loathing, and her mouth must be filled with bitter detestations of him; she would have to forswear herself, were she to think and speak of him otherwise than in maledictions.

While Luther wrote the treatise, the Elector was in correspondence with Cardinal Raphael and his agent Teutleben at Rome, both of whom were urging that Luther be silenced. Luther was informed of this correspondence, as we saw in the last chapter. Through Spalatin, Luther sent a warning against violent measures that might be adopted to suppress him, because such measures would start riots and revolutions. The Elector accepted this view; and in his answer to Rome pointed out the dangers connected with measures of repression if applied to Luther. Besides, he reminded the cardinal that Luther had always declared himself willing to have his case settled by fair argument before impartial judges, and that arrangements had already been made for a hearing of his case before Archbishop Greiffenklau at the next Diet. At the same time the Elector suggested to Luther that he appeal for protection to the Emperor. Luther did this by submitting to the Elector on August

23 the following letter, which was sent to Charles V August 30:—

Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ

Everybody might feel justly surprised, best Emperor Charles, that I dare to approach your serene Majesty with this letter. I, who am a mere flea,[601] presume to address the king of all the rulers. But the surprise will decrease when the magnitude of my cause is considered, which, since it represents the truth and is worthy to be taken before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, will not be unworthy of being laid before an earthly prince. Moreover, earthly princes being images of the King of heaven, it is becoming to them, if, like their great Model, they look upon the lowly on earth while dwelling on high themselves, and raise the helpless from the ground and the beggar from the dunghill.[602] Therefore, helpless and poor, I cast myself at the feet of your serene royal Majesty; I am most unworthy, but I shall bring before you a most worthy cause.

Some writings have been published by me by which I have roused the envy and indignation of many great men against me, although I was doubly entitled to their protection. First, I have come forward against my will, and whatever I wrote I wrote prompted only by the violence and cunning of others; for with all my heart I desired nothing less than to remain hidden in my cell. Furthermore, I testify upon my conscience and appeal to the judgment of the best men that I have sought to make public nothing but Gospel truth, over and against the superstitious opinions of men's traditions. It is now nearly three years since on account of this I suffer endless wrath, contumely, danger, and whatever evil men can think of. In vain I ask to be forgiven; in vain I offer to be silent; in vain I make peace proposals; in vain I ask to be better informed. The only thing that they are getting ready to do is to snuff me out together with the whole Gospel.

Now, since all my efforts have proved futile, it has seemed good after the example of St. Athanasius to call upon your Imperial Majesty, if perchance it should please the Lord to help my cause through you. Therefore, O Charles, ruler of the kings of the earth, prostrating myself before your serene Majesty, I beseech you graciously to take under the shadow of your wings, not me, but the cause of truth, in whose behalf alone you have been given the sword to bear, for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well; and in this cause to protect me no further and no longer than until such time as I shall either conquer or be conquered in an argument. I do not want to be defended if I am found to be a wicked person or a heretic. I only ask that, whether my teaching be true or false it be not condemned, unheard aand untried. It will be proper for your royal and imperial Majesty to do this: it

601) 1 Sam. 24, 15; 26, 20. 602) Ps. 113, 5-7.

will be an ornament to your administration, and will render your era sacred to posterity, if your sacred Majesty will not suffer the wicked to grind into the dust and to devour one more righteous than himself, and to make men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them,[603] while judging and condemning (my teaching) is growing stronger. Thus I commend myself, thus I entrust myself to, and put my hope in, your sacred Majesty, which the Lord Jesus may preserve for us and magnify to the everlasting glory of the Gospel.[604]

At this time, too, Miltitz, who was becoming discredited at Rome, made another effort to bring about his "conciliation," although, as the next chapter will show, he was much too late. Staupitz had issued a call for a chapter of the Augustinian Order to meet at Eisleben August 28. He wished to resign his office as Vicar. Miltitz proposed to discuss Luther's case with the brothers, and so informed the Elector, asking the latter at the same time to enjoin Luther from publishing a certain treatise which, he had heard, was about to appear. The treatise to which Miltitz referred was the *Appeal to the Nobility*. Miltitz again assured the Elector that Luther's troubles were in a fair way of being satisfactorily settled. The Elector replied that the treatise to which Miltitz referred had already left the press, and paid no attention to Miltitz's other remarks. Miltitz actually came to Eisleben, and induced the brothers to send a delegation to Luther for the purpose of obtaining from him a letter to the Pope that he had never meant to attack the Pope's person, and that he was willing to submit to him. The delegation consisted of Staupitz and Link, who had been

603) Hab. 1, 13 f.

604) It is not clear in which way this letter given to Spalatin did reach the Emperor, who was traveling in the Netherlands at the time, on his way to his coronation in Germany. A document described as Luther's "Offer" was handed the Emperor at Cologne in November, but it is not evident that it was this letter. The letter was, however, presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Worms, when he tore it and flung it aside unread. The papal nuncio Aleander sent a copy of this letter to Vice-Chancellor Julius dei Medici at Rome. XV, 1378 ff.; Erl., *l. c.* II, 468 f.; comp. XV, 2494; Erl. *l. c.* II, 464.

made Staupitz's successor. In a letter of September 11 Luther writes to Spalatin:—

> Nothing was done concerning me at Eisleben except that Carl Miltitz begged the fathers and finally persuaded them to send Staupitz and the new vicar Wenzeslaus to me and ask me to write to the Pope and protest that I had never plotted anything against his person. By this plan they hoped to put my case in good shape.
>
> Although neither I nor the fathers think anything of this plan, still we may accommodate the gentleman, who is perhaps consulting his personal interest in this matter. Accordingly, I shall write what is a fact, *viz.*, that I never had in mind to assail the Pope's person. What else could I write more readily and truthfully? While writing, I shall have to be careful not to handle the papal see too roughly; but I shall add the necessary salt.[605]

This was Luther's last meeting with his old friend Staupitz. Miltitz himself wrote Luther a letter, expressing regrets that Luther had not come to Eisleben, and stating that he must refrain from paying Luther a visit at Wittenberg because of Luther's many friends there, who all consider Miltitz an enemy of Luther.[606]

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32. "Arise, O Lord."

All efforts to avert the dreaded sentence of condemnation were in vain; months before he knew it Luther had been excommunicated. While the Elector was still corresponding with Cardinal Raphael and Miltitz, the bearer of the bull of excommunication was already on his way to Germany to publish it in every diocese, while the nuncios who went to meet the Emperor in the Netherlands also carried it with them. Like all solemn declarations of the Pope, this document is referred to by citing its opening words in Latin: *Exsurge, Domine.* Luther was writing the last paragraphs of his *Babylonian Cap-*

605) XV, 2405; Erl., *l. c.* II, 478.
606) XV, 776; Erl., *l. c.* II, 466.

tivity when the bull reached Germany: it was published at Meissen September 21, at Merseburg September 25, in Brandenburg September 29. Luther had certain information about its arrival September 28; on that day he writes to Canon Guenther von Buenau:—

> About Eck I know nothing yet except that he has arrived, sporting a beard, a bull, and a purse (*barbatus, bullatus, nummatus*). God grant that one of the condemned articles may read: "It is to be wished that the sack of the mendicant friars be abolished." For my part I shall laugh at this bladder (*bulla*) or jug (*ampulla*) [607]

Eck had reached Rome towards the end of January, 1520. On March 21 Luther writes to Lang:—

> My Eck is going to Rome, intending to set the forest of Lebanon on fire. But I believe that even Rome is subject to Christ, who is Lord over all, and who will be active in my behalf even there if I am worthy.[608]

It is due to Eck's reports to the Pope and to his urgent representation that prompt and drastic action against Luther was required that the Pope immediately appointed the commission which was required by canon law in such a case. The commission consisted of Cardinal Accolti, Archbishop of Ancona, Cardinal Cajetan, Eck, and one representative from each of the orders of mendicant friars, Prierias being one of them. Cardinal Caraffa, who had just returned from a mission to Spain, was added to this commission.

Meanwhile the Pope gave himself over to the hilarities and frivolities of the carnival season at his country seat of Malliano, seven miles northwest of Rome. He provided lavish entertainments for the crowds of sycophants and flatterers that thronged his court, while his commission prepared that bull which informed the Christian world that the Holy Father was dissolved in tears, stricken with unutterable grief, and pining in

607) XXIa, 297; Erl., *l. c.* II, 482.
608) XV, 2493; Erl., *l. c.* II, 365.

disconsolate sadness over Luther's apostasy. Accolti prepared the draft of the bull, and a smaller committee was engaged on its revision till May 3. Cajetan was ill, but had himself carried into the sessions of the committee to render his advice. Eck dictated the terms of the bull. He writes to Johann Fabri May 5:—

The papal bull against Luther has now been reduced to the briefest form, and will be passed upon at the next council of the Cardinals. . . . His Holiness the Pope, two cardinals, a doctor from Spain, and I conferred nearly five hours; we differed in our sentiments and in the advice offered. A separate opinion was finally demanded of each one of us. I am confident that the form of the bull will please pious men, because it gives much and varied information about the custom and practice of old and new councils, and, besides, it condemns forty-one distinct errors of Luther.[609]

On June 15 the bull was taken to Leo X at Malliano, where he was engaged in a hunt, and received the Pope's signature. According to canon law, a heretic, before being actually excommunicated, must receive a kind and paternal admonition, and a time of grace must be given him for reconsideration. The bull against Luther tried to meet this requirement, hence there is a strange mingling of benevolent and wrathful expressions in it, which produces a comical effect. The bull falls into three parts; it details the measures to be taken against Luther's heresies, against the writings of the heretic, and against his person and that of his followers. Its opening words are borrowed from Scripture:—[610]

Arise, O Lord, Leo exclaims, lift up Thyself,[611] and plead Thine own cause;[612] remember the reproach wherewith foolish men reproach Thee all the day long;[613] incline Thine ear unto our prayer;[614] for foxes[615] have appeared, that have dared to lay waste Thy vineyard in which Thou hast trodden the winepress alone.[616] Being about to ascend to Thy Father in heaven, Thou didst commit the care, government, and administration of the vineyard to Peter, who was to be at the head of

609) XV, 1399 f.
610) Ps. 7, 6.
611) Ps. 68, 1.
612) Ps. 74, 22.
613) Ps. 89, 50, 51.
614) Ps. 88, 2.
615) Canticles 2, 15.
616) Is. 63, 3.

it, and Thy vicegerent,[617] and to his successors,[618] just as Thou art over the Church triumphant.[619] This vineyard a boar out of the wood hath dared to waste, and a wild beast of the field doth devour it.[620]

And now the papal organist draws stop after stop for crescendo effects:

Arise, Peter! . . . Arise, Paul! . . . Arise, assembly of the saints. . . . and the entire Church whose true interpretation of Holy Writ is put aside by some whose minds have been blinded by the Father of Lies. . . . Arise, O holy Church of God, and in union with the twelve most holy apostles make intercession to God Almighty, that He may deign to put away error from His sheep and purge them from it, that He may expel all heresies from the territories of believers, and preserve the peace and unity of Thy holy Church.

Now the Holy Father makes his appearance, in the rôle of a man of sorrows:—

A long time ago credible persons have brought us a report which from anguish of mind and painful grief we can hardly express in words; yea, we have, alas! seen with our own eyes many and manifold errors, some of which have been condemned by councils and decrees of our predecessors, and which expressly endorse the heresies of the Greeks and the Bohemians, while others are either heretical, or false, or noxious, or offensive to Christian ears, or misleading to simple minds.

The bull asserts that these sad occurrences are due to diabolical influence and to the vainglory that possesses the hearts of abandoned men, who even use the authority of Scripture for their false and malicious teachings. The Pope is shocked that this has happened in "the most famous German nation."

We are the more grieved at this because we and our predecessors have at all times fondled this nation in the lap of our love, and have transferred the imperial crown from the Greeks to this nation.

Next, the bull recounts a splendid catalog of acts by which the Germans have shown themselves noble con-

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617) No Scripture text.
618) No Scripture text. 619) No Scripture text.
620) Ps. 80, 13.—Hausrath thinks these references to Scripture were supplied by Cajetan, as Leo X knew Lucian and Ovid better than the Psalms and Isaiah.

fessors and staunch champions of the truth of holy Mother Church. What would this cloud of gallant witnesses say to the present Germans, queries the Pope, if they shoud tolerate heresy among them?

Forty-one errors are now enumerated which have been discovered among the Germans. The Germans must have smiled when they read this list; for the knowledge which the compiler had of Luther's teachings evidently did not extend much beyond the Leipzig Debate. How would the list have looked if Luther's writings during 1520 had been excerpted for damaging evidence!

In sections 9-15 the bull specifies the orthodox attitude of the members and orders of the Church over and against these heresies.

In sections 16-19 the Pope at last names Luther as the offender, and recounts all his efforts to win the said Luther from the error of his way.

> Good God! what have we omitted, what have we failed to do, what act of paternal love have we forgotten, that might restore him?

The Pope also asserts that he had offered to defray Luther's traveling expenses to Rome, if the latter would present himself for a hearing. Luther declared this a lie.

Section 20 is an appeal to Luther to reconsider his teachings, repent, and amend his ways. Section 21 suspends him from the priesthood; if he does not repent in three times twenty days, he is to be severed from the tree of the Church as a dead limb. Section 22 outlines the mode of his recantation in case he repents, and in that case gives him sixty more days of grace in which to convey his recantation to Rome. Sections 23-33 prescribe the conduct of the faithful towards the excommunicated Luther.[621]

621) XV, 1425-1458, with the comment of Hutten.

According to the time limit fixed in the bull the excommunication did not go into effect until November 27. But even this date was not observed at Rome. The actual excommunication of Luther was announced from Rome in the bull *Decet Romanum* of January 3, 1521.

With the publication of the bull the Pope entrusted two of the worst agents that he could have selected, Aleander and Eck, both of whom were sworn enemies of Luther and unpopular in Germany. Eck was, moreover, given the privilege of including in the bull twenty-four persons whom he might choose. Though this hypocrite afterwards protested that he did not like this mission, and that it was forced upon him, he entered upon its execution with a zest worthy of a better cause. At Augsburg he made use of his special privilege by including in the excommunication Canon Adelmann, who with Oecolampad had attacked him in the *Reply of the Unlearned Canons,* and with whom he had almost come to blows at a dinner party. Adelmann, who was entirely dependent on Rome for his living, went down on his knees and craved absolution from Eck. At Nuernberg Eck applied the same process to Pirckheimer and Spengler; the former denied that he was the author of the satire *Eccius Dedolatus,* and took an appeal to the Pope, in which he protested that he was not a Lutheran. Lazarus Spengler followed his example, and when both men nevertheless found themselves included in the later bull *Decet Romanum* among the excommunicated, they drew up statements which satisfied the Curia. The city council of Nuernberg tried to hush this inglorious action of two of its most honored citizens.

The arbitrary use which Eck made of his special excommunication privileges had two distinct effects: First, it made the bull itself contemptible to the people.

Even as it was, the people did not have a great respect for letters of excommunication and edicts of interdict. A popular saying declared that these papal punishments were often imposed "because of three filberts and two pigeon turds." Secondly, it roused fierce resentment against Eck. The bishops whose privilege it was to publish papal manifestoes hated the professor who came into their dioceses and acted as a sovereign who had to ask nobody's permission for anything he might choose to do. When Eck posted the bull at Leipzig, it was soiled and torn down. At Torgau some one wrote beneath it: "The nest is here, but the birds have flown." The students at Leipzig played many a painful joke on Eck. They composed a song on him and sang it marching through the streets. He was always hailed as Eccius Dedolatus, and the situation at length became so precarious for him that he fled from the Paulinian convent to that of the Dominican, where Tetzel had died in terror the year before. In one of his letters at this time Luther expresses the fear that Eck's life is not safe,[622] and Cardinal Raphael actually reports from Worms to Rome that Eck's house had been stormed and when Eck himself was not found, his servants had been thrown out of the window by the angry mob, and one of the servants had broken his neck. Rector Mosellanus had to issue an edict to the students not to "ride" Eck any more. From this city, where he had quite recently celebrated his greatest triumph, Eck had to flee to Freiburg, and Luther taunts him: "What has become of your glory? Why does he sneak into a cloister, this noble champion who sneered and said: Luther does not like to see heretics burned because it is not pleasant to the skin"? Eck sent the bull to Erfurt, with orders to have it posted. The university simply

622) XV, 2462; Erl., *l. c.* II, 487.

refused to do so. On October 10 Eck came in person to enforce respect for himself as papal nuncio. The cloister received him respectfully, and under Eck's whip the printing of an edition of the bull was begun, but a placard was suddenly found posted in the city informing the students of the university and the citizens in general that the faculty had found in Luther's writings nothing but Pauline truth, and that, accordingly, "every member of the university is hereby summoned to defend the Word of Christ like a man and resist the mad defamers of Luther tooth and nail." The immediate result was that Eck found himself besieged in his lodging, and with difficulty made his escape from the city. The copies of the bull which had come off the press the students threw into the Gera river, remarking that they must "see whether this bladder (*bulla*) can swim."[623] Wittenberg was given a wide berth by Eck, who had included Carlstadt, Feldkirchen, and the Zwickau pastor Egranus in the bull. Rector Burckhardt declared that the publication of the bull was a piece of knavery which he would not tolerate. Hausrath muses what might have been thrown into the Elbe if Eck had come to Wittenberg. The provost of Leitzkau declared that before he would publish the bull, he would resign his position. Heinrich Schmidling, the chancellor of the Bishop of Naumburg, first inquired of the Elector what he must do with the bull. The people of Eilenburg where Schmidling lived stormed his dwelling when they heard that the bull against Luther was to be published. The Elector quickly sent Luther and two of his counselors to Eilenburg to advise Schmidling. But they arrived too late,—Melanchthon had accompanied Luther,—for Schmidling had in terror fled to Leipzig, where he made

623) XXIa, 305; XV, 2438; Erl., *l. c.* II, 503, 511.

his testament and died, bequeathing hundred gulden to the excommunicated Luther.[624] Innumerable pasquils, rhymes, ditties, dialogs, tracts, were flying about in Germany; the nation in high glee was kicking the *bulla* about as a national pastime during the fall of 1520. Eck was so profoundly grateful when he reached his room in Ingolstadt that he erected a memorial tablet as a thank-offering for his deliverance.

To insure the execution of the bull *Exsurge, Domine,* Rome had to make sure that the secular authorities would co-operate with it. In this instance the aid of the new Emperor was essential. Accordingly, Aleander[625] and Caraccioli were delegated to proceed to Flanders and accompany the Emperor on the journey to his coronation at Aix la Chapelle on October 23, 1520, and then to the Diet at Worms. Caraccioli was to attend to political matters, Aleander to the religious affairs. Rome studiously sought to keep these issues apart. His commission was given Aleander by a papal breve of July 14,

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624) XXIa, 306, 312; Erl., *l. c.* II, 524; III, 1 ff.

625) Born 1480 as the son of a physician at Motta in the Republic of Venice, hence called Mottensis, or Noricus, by his friends. Hutten, Spengler, Luther, and the common people at Mainz and Worms took him for a Jew, which Aleander strenuously denied, even in a speech at the Diet of Worms. In his early life he is found among the Humanists that gathered around the printshop of Aldus Manutius at Venice. For a time he was the room-mate and bed-fellow of Erasmus at Aldus's home. Aleander became famous by his efficiency in Latin, his splendid Greek style, his unusual knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldee, and his consummate skill as a conversationalist. Erasmus, who later became his enemy, tells us that in appearance Aleander was tall and portly, and as regards his temperament, unruly and irritable, of insatiable avarice and ambition. Luther counted Aleander among the devils. However, Aleander could also be a fawning and a compliant servitor of great men. In 1508 he went to Paris and taught Greek to private pupils from the nobility. In 1509 he became a public teacher and had among his pupils such German Humanists as Hummelberg, Nachtigall (Luscinius), and Beatus Rhenanus. He soon joined the reactionary party, and was counted among the *viri obscuri*. At Paris he formed the acquaintance of Eberhardt von der March, Bishop of Luettich, and became chancellor of the university which the bishop founded. Political intrigues were rampant at the bishop's court; the bishop held with Charles V; his brother, the sovereign of Sedan and Bouillon, with France. Aleander thoroughly learned the game of politics at this court. In 1516 he entered the service of the almighty relative of Leo X, Giulio dei Medici. The mission which the Pope assigned him as nuncio to Germany was the most important mission that the Curia had to fill at this time.

a month after the Pope had signed the bull *Exsurge, Domine.* In this breve Aleander is told to be careful not to have any quarrels with Eck, "lest the sacred business entrusted to you be disturbed or hindered." This warning was superfluous, because by the time that Aleander reached Germany Eck was thanking God fervently in his cell at Ingolstadt that he had escaped the fury of the Saxons.

Charles V landed at Vlissingen July 1, 1520, and held a conference with Henry VIII of England at Gravelingen and Calais July 10-14. This meeting of the monarchs was made a great state affair with gorgeous festivities. September 23-29 Charles spent at Antwerp, and here Aleander presented his credentials, and at once obtained from the Emperor an edict that in all his hereditary domains the books of Luther were to be burned. However, besides the imperial seal to this edict the seal of the chancellor of Brabant was needed to make it effective, and as this gentleman happened to be at Loewen, no autodafé could be inaugurated at Antwerp. The first burning of Luther's books took place between October 1 and 9 at Loewen. More than eighty books of Luther were piled up in the market-place and burned by the hangman, while the magistrates of the city stood by in their official attire, and a herald proclaimed the sentence upon Luther. Lords from all nations who were attached to the imperial court watched the spectacle. A panic seized the citizens of Loewen, and they willingly brought books of Luther to the burning, while the city constables ransacked the bookstores for more. A certain Count von Ravenstein, however, reports the event somewhat differently: the students of the university injected a liberal humorous element into the proceedings by casting their hated schoolbooks and asses' bridges into

the fire, and pious citizens, to show their zeal in the great cause, brought any books they had at hand to the burning, so that there is no telling what all was burned that day. Aleander was not particular, but so he had his burning and could make a report to Rome. These scenes were repeated October 17 at Luettich, and Aleander vowed that from now on similar autodafés were to take place at every stopping-place on his journey. After every burning he had a notary public draw up an affidavit, partly to impress the Curia with his success, partly to put the Emperor and his counselors on record as consenting to his proceedings. For as the journey proceeded eastward, it became more and more evident that these burnings were resented by the people and the nobility. Aleander's demand to deliver Luther to him was refused because the sixty days of grace after the posting of the bull by Eck in Germany had not yet expired. The Emperor's chancellor Chievres and his counselor Gattinara were incensed at the autocratic doings of Aleander, and when the Elector wrote Charles V a letter regarding Luther's case and stated that he had arranged for an orderly trial of Luther by Greiffenklau, these gentlemen prevailed on the young Emperor, who was still quite diffident and a toy in the hands of his elder courtiers and diplomats, to return a kind answer to the Elector. The Emperor had been given evidence that the Curia was conspiring against him with France to reduce the Emperor's immense political power. It was deemed a fine piece of diplomacy to keep Luther in reserve as a means for coercing Rome into compliance with the Emperor's policies. Thus, just like at Augsburg, Luther had again become a valuable pawn on the political chessboard.[626]

626) Charles V was born at Ghent February 24, 1500. His parents, Philip the Handsome and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon,

The Emperor's coronation at Aix la Chapelle was according to the strict medieval ritual, which emphasized at every turn the overlordship of the tiara over the crown. At seven o'clock in the morning—fortunately a warm day—the sickly youth was brought to the church, where he was received by the electoral archbishops Albert, Greiffenklau, and Herman von Wied. Going through the prescribed prostrations, repeated at each of the three acts of the ritual, the Emperor, stripped to the waist, vowed 1) to be faithful to the Church and her servants; 2) to be just to his subjects; 3) to be obedient to the Pope. The Archbishop of Cologne anointed his head, chest, neck, elbows, and hands. Then the three archbishops conducted the Emperor into the sacristy, where he was dried and robed in the garment

left him one year old at Brussels, where the boy grew up among strangers. The death of his father in 1506 made him heir to the Netherlands at the age of six. When he saw his mother for the first time the night of insanity had already begun to settle on her mind. At Brussels young Master Charles was duly celebrated by the loyal burghers whenever he appeared with his toy arquebuse at their shooting-matches, or danced in decorous measures at their fêtes with his sisters. He was of delicate frame, noble in his bearing, but his face was disfigured by a protruding underlip. In horsemanship and the knightly diversions of the tournament he soon attained to mastery. But his joyless childhood and youth left its impress on his character for life. Even as a boy he exhibited a pedantic seriousness and great reserve. On January 5, 1515, he was declared of age, in order to secure the Netherlands for him against the encroachments of his rapacious relatives. Still a boy, Charles had to contend for his possessions with his grandparents as with enemies, and the life of the pale and sickly youth was full of worries. His grandfather in Vienna, Emperor Maximilian, did not check the knight who had tried to wrest to himself in Hungary one-third of the dower of Charles's sister and was constantly plundering Charles's exchequer in Flanders. His grandfather Ferdinand of Arragon, after becoming the guardian of Charles's demented mother, proposed to rule the Netherlands himself, and regarded his grandson as his rival. Charles's brother Ferdinand was set up as his competitor both in Spain and in Germany, and the popular comparison between the two brothers was never favorable to Charles. The court of the young ruler was thus a whirlpool of political intrigues and cast a somber hue on Charles's youth. His aunt Margaret, who superintended his education, championed the claims of her father Maximilian; the Spanish counselors fought against the plotting of France; the Netherland counselors first tried not to become involved in these schemes, or, if they should not succeed in this, were willing to form an alliance with France. Thus Charles was trained to distrust. He hardly ever opened his mind to anybody. The one purpose which he cherished was resisted by all his advisers; he believed that the name Charles had been given him to point him to his destiny, *viz.*, of reconquering what his Burgundian ancestor Charles the Bold had lost to France. The youth thus retired completely within himself, so as not to lose himself in the labyrinth of political machinations which daily surrounded him. He never took sides, in order not to lose the favor of any party, or to place himself under obligation to any. He became one of

of a deacon. In this attire of an inferior ecclesiastic he was brought back to the altar, where he received the sword, ring, scepter, and other imperial insignia, after which the three archbishops placed the crown on his head. Alarums announced to the gaping multitude that Rome had given to its beloved Germans another emperor.

During the days of the coronation Aleander was busy preparing the minds of the German sovereigns for his Roman master's scheme regarding Luther. With Archbishop Albert he had little trouble after he had delivered to him the golden rose of that year. But he did not obtain a promise from the archbishop that Luther's books would be burned at Mainz. After the coronation Aleander went to Cologne, where Elector Frederick, who had not attended the coronation on account of the

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the most taciturn monarchs of his age. Luther has jokingly said of him: "I believe I talk more in one day than the Emperor in a whole year." Cardinal Caraffa, Charles's mortal enemy, remarked that this pale monarch was moving like a corpse among the living. The phlegm of the Dutch was one of his natural traits, and with it he combined the haughtiness of the Castilian. The legend on his coat of arms read: "Nondum" (Not yet!); it sums up his later policy. He was wary and slow in his resolves; *e. g.*, he often postponed an act of revenge, but he never forgave. His confessor Glapion complained that irreconcilableness was the most unlovely trait of Charles's character. His taciturnity was aggravated by the fact that he rarely understood the conversation that was going on in his presence. He spoke and wrote French and had picked up some Low German from his Vlamish servants, but he could neither speak Spanish to his Spanish nor German to his German subjects, nor could he read the literary language of the age, Latin. The great intellectual movement of Humanism that swept over Europe never touched Charles. His teacher Adrian of Utrecht, who succeeded Leo X in the papacy, had reared him a rigid Catholic, extremely bigoted. Any criticism of the Church roused Charles to violent anger. At mass he would kneel in deepest reverence, and fervently kiss the pictures of the saints in his prayer-book whose names the priest happened to mention. None of his subjects observed the rules of fasting more strictly than Charles. A tinge of melancholy is seen in his earliest devotions; in every one of his domains he had a sepulcher prepared for himself, and made endowments for innumerable masses for his soul. His personal habits exhausted his vitality. His relation to Jeanne van der Gheest, the mother of Margaret of Parma, and to other Dutch women, yea, his infatuation when he was fifty years old, for the daughter of the Augsburg patrician Blomberg, who became the mother of Don Juan of Austria, were matters of common knowledge. Guizot relates that even the sister of the French monarch, who had been taken prisoner by Charles, tried to cater to the known vice of the Emperor by offering herself to him, in order that she might free her brother. Father Glapion supervised spiritually the thinking, wishing, and acting of this weird being, and exerted greater influence upon him than any other man.

gout, was tarrying. The Emperor also came to Cologne, and the city was crowded with guests, so that it took Aleander nearly a day to find a suitable lodging. He had conferences with Hogstraten, and discussed the burning of Luther's books with him. With Caraccioli he announced himself to the Elector and asked for an interview, but was not admitted. Moving among the German noblemen, he discovered to his amazement a great deal of hostility to Rome. His demand to continue the burning of Luther's books was received with indifference and even resistance, but was carried out nevertheless in deference to the Emperor under pressure of Hogstraten. Not until November 4 did Aleander meet the Elector, and even then only by a stratagem. He had learned that the Elector would attend mass on that day at the cloister of the Barefoot monks, and with the customary impudence of high Italian ecclesiastics he approached the Elector during the service. While the priests were officiating and the congregation was at worship, the papal nuncios, Caraccioli first and after him Aleander, delivered fulsome orations and handed papal breves to the Elector. The Elector, shocked by the irreverence of the nuncios, replied briefly and after the service sent his counselors to tell them that he would take time with his counselors to consider the communication of His Holiness. The principal communication was concerning Luther. Aleander felt scandalized that a German prince had treated him "as if he were a servant," and wrote to Rome that the Elector "acted as if he were the emperor."

Erasmus happened to be at Cologne, and the Elector invited him to a conference on November 5, at which he asked Erasmus's opinion of Luther. Erasmus made the reply, since become famous: "Luther has offended

in two respects: he has touched the Pope's crown and the monks' bellies." And then he denounced the unjust treatment which Luther had received from Rome —this included the bull!—and suggested a fair trial before impartial judges. The whole world, he declared, was thirsting for the Gospel which Luther had brought them, and would never be satisfied without it. The Elector and Spalatin were both surprised and grateful for this frank statement from the scholar. The next day the Elector sent Aleander a reply to the effect that the Pope evidently labored under a misapprehension regarding Luther. The Elector deprecated any attempt to administer swift Italian justice to Luther, and asked Aleander to secure for Luther a trial before learned, pious, and unsuspected judges. When Aleander tried to see him personally, the Elector sent word that he was too busy to receive him. Aleander was incensed to madness; a case that he had regarded as settled, he was told, had not even been tried. It was an unheard-of outrage to a Pope-worshiper.

From Cologne the Emperor proceeded to Mainz. Aleander thought to have easy sailing here, and a burning of Luther's books was to be inaugurated at once. After much reluctance he obtained only a promise that Luther's doctrine should be denounced from all pulpits. His friend Hogstraten, however, brought a pile of Luther's books to the market-place the day after the imperial party had left Mainz, and ordered the hangman to apply the torch. The hangman stepped forward and asked the multitude whether the criminal whose writings were to be burned had been duly tried and sentenced. The people lustily shouted, No! and the hangman declared himself without authority in that case to execute the burning. Then the people dispersed the pile

and engaged in a boisterous frolic.[627] On the way to Worms Aleander met fierce men, who scowled at him and made unprintable remarks to him. By the time he had reached Worms the conviction had settled on his mind that these terrible German boars and auroxen had no love for him. After a long and weary search he found a small room in the attic of a humble cottage where he continued to spin the threads of his cunning intrigues. His spies were at the keyholes of the private rooms of every great man at Worms; he received daily reports of his hired agents, and he was busy himself from early dawn till late at night sounding the sentiments of the members of the approaching Diet. But he was ill at ease: the German winter was a horrid experience to him; the German food and mode of living he considered an abomination; and worse than all, the German bluntness in dealing with him proved a veritable terror to his cowardly heart. At night when there were unusual noises in the city, he would start with fright in his little room and listen for the approach of his pursuers, and the next morning would write, with a chilled and trembling hand, doleful dispatches to Rome.

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33. The Last Appeal to the Pope: On the Liberty of a Christian Man.

On October 11, 1520, Luther writes to Spalatin:—

At last that Roman bull brought by Eck has arrived. Our friends are writing to the Elector about it.[628] I despise it, and

627) XV, 2424; Erl., *l. c.* III, 71.

628) Dr. Peter Burckhardt, the rector, writes to Lazarus Spengler: "Dr. Eck has conveyed to me by stealth and by a knavish trick a copy of the bull. I received advice from the jurists not to publish it to the university, but dispatched a messenger to our gracious Elector. . . . I have not yet received an answer, but am hoping that our gracious Elector will spare no pains in this matter." The bull with the rector's letter reached the Elector at Cologne, and he answered it evasively from Homburg in Hessia, November 18. (See the Elector's letter, Walch, old ed., XV, 1875.) Enders, *l. c.* II, 492.

am now attacking it as fraudulent and impious, and Eckian to the core. You see that Christ Himself is condemned in it; moreover, that it says nothing to the point; lastly, that it summons me, not to be heard, but to recant, so that you may know that they are all full of fury, blindness, and insanity, seeing and considering nothing. Still I shall act without mentioning the Pope's name as yet, as though I was writing against a fictitious and forged bull,[629] although I believe it to be genuine and their own work. Would that Charles were a man and would grapple with these devils for Christ!

I, indeed, fear nothing for myself. God's will be done. Nor do I know what the Elector ought to do, except that I think it best for him to dissimulate. For at Leipzig as well as everywhere else both the bull and Eck are held in utter contempt; hence I suspect that by excessive care and solicitude on our part it may receive authority, whereas, if left to itself, it will easily quiet down. I send a copy of it that you may behold the Roman monsters. If they rule, it is over with faith and the Church.

Yet I rejoice with my whole heart that for this best of causes I suffer evil, who am not worthy of being so tried. Now I am much freer; for at last I am certain that the Pope is Antichrist, and that the seat of Satan has been plainly discovered. May God preserve His own, lest they be seduced with this specious impiety. Erasmus writes that the court of the Emperor has been occupied by "begging tyrants," [630] so that there can be no hope in Charles. This is not surprising; put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no help.[631]

With this purpose formed in his mind, Luther at the very hour when he wrote this letter started for Lichtenberg for a last conference with Miltitz. Eck's presumption and autocratic measures had roused also Miltitz's resentment. He felt himself discredited and superseded both at Rome and in Germany by the unusual authority given to Eck. He plainly delighted in Eck's discomfiture. He was still bent on exhibiting his superior diplomatic skill. Luther thought this conference needless, but the Elector insisted that he should go, and furnished a strong safe-conduct. Accordingly, Luther, accompanied by

629) Erasmus, too, adopted this policy; the object was to give the Pope an opportunity to repudiate the bull, if the Curia should suddenly discover that this would serve its interests better.

630) The mendicant friars.

631) Ps. 146, 3. XV, 2463; Erl., *l. c.* II, 490; Smith, *l. c.* I, 365.

Melanchthon, met Miltitz at the Antonian cloister at Lichtenberg October 12. Miltitz reminded Luther of his promise given to Staupitz and Link that he would write a letter to the Pope. Miltitz promised himself much from this effort. The result of the conference was that Luther was held to his promise, but the mode of executing it was changed: Luther was to publish a letter to the Pope in German and Latin, and prefix the same to a treatise which he was to publish. This treatise was to be issued within twelve days, and was to be dated back to September 6, in order that it might not seem as if Eck with his bull had forced Luther to publish the treatise.

Thus originated the finest and last of the three great reformatory writings of Luther during the year 1520: the treatise *On the Liberty of a Christian Man.* The accompanying letter to the Pope reads as follows:—

Most Holy Father in God! The controversy in which I have become involved three years ago with certain rude men compels me occasionally to turn my eyes and thoughts to you. Yea, since there is a belief that you alone are the principal subject of this controversy, I cannot but think of you unceasingly. For although I was forced by some of your unchristian flatterers, who are incensed at me without any reason whatsoever, to appeal my case from your see to a free Christian council, my mind has not become so estranged from you and your Roman See as to keep me from wishing you and your Roman See the best with all my heart and at all times, and from seeking the same as much as I was able by diligent and cordial prayer to God. True, I have resolved to despise and defeat those who have hitherto been at work threatening me with your lofty and great name and authority. But there is one thing which I may not treat lightly, and that is the reason why I am writing to you again, *viz.*, I observe that I am being slandered to you, and that I am charged by false interpretations of my writings with not having spared even your person.

I wish to declare freely and publicly that I am not conscious of ever having said except what is most honorable and best of your person whenever I thought of you. If I had not done this, I myself could in no wise praise what I am charged with having done, but would have to confirm the judgment of my accusers by a complete confession. Nor would I do anything more gladly than to declare the opposite of the wanton and

malicious statements imputed to me, and would recant my reprehensible words. I have called you a Daniel at Babylon, and as to my defending your innocence zealously against the calumniator Silvester, every one who reads my statements will be more than convinced.

Your fame and the reputation of your godly life is known throughout the world, and many highly learned men have extolled these facts so well and gloriously that no one, no matter how great he is, can assail you with any cunning charge. I am not so foolish as to be the only person to attack one who is praised by all. Moreover, it has always been, and in the future shall be, my policy, to attack not even those who are in universal disrepute. Other people's sins do not put me at ease; for I know well there is a beam in mine own eye,[632] and I cannot be the first to cast a stone at the adulteress.[633]

I have indeed sharply attacked some unchristian teachings in the Church and have made biting remarks about my adversaries, not on account of their wicked lives, but on account of their unchristian teaching, and the protection which they enjoyed. I am so far from feeling sorry for this that I have resolved to continue in this zeal and sharpness, no matter how my action is interpreted by some. For in this matter I have before me the example of Christ, who in His zeal uses such cutting terms in speaking of His adversaries as "generation of vipers," "hypocrites," "blind," "children of the devil."[634] Paul calls Elymas the sorcerer a "child of the devil, full of subtlety and all mischief,"[635] and some false apostles he chides, calling them "dogs," "deceivers," and "perverters of God's Word."[636] If these delicate, sensitive ears had heard these words, they would say that no one was so cutting and impatient as St. Paul. And who is more cutting than the prophets? But in our times our ears have become so sensitive and delicate, owing to the multitude of flatterers, that unless we are praised by people for everything, we at once complain that they are cutting. And being unable to resist the truth in any other way, we get rid of it on the fictitious ground that people are cutting, impatient, and immoderate. But of what use is salt that does not bite? What is the use of putting an edge on a sword if it is not to be keen for cutting? Does not the prophet say: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully,"[637] and spares men overmuch?

Therefore I pray, holy Father Leo, that you will accept this excusation of mine, and regard me as a person who surely has never undertaken anything evil against your person, who is so well disposed towards you as to wish you the best, and to rejoice when you obtain it, and who desires quarrels and wrangling with no one because of the wicked life which the party is

632) Luke 6, 41-42.
633) John 8, 7.
634) Matt. 23, 33; 15, 7; 23, 24, 26; John 8, 44.
635) Acts 13, 10.
636) Gal. 1, 7; Titus 1, 10; Phil. 3, 2.
637) Jer. 48, 10.

leading, but only because of the truth of the divine Word. In all things I shall gladly yield to everybody, but the Word of God I shall not and cannot forsake nor deny. If anybody holds a different opinion concerning me, or has understood my writings otherwise, he is in error and has misunderstood me.

However, it is true that I have frankly attacked the Roman See, called the Roman Curia, of which yourself and everybody on earth must confess that it is worse and more abominable than Sodom, Gomorrah or Babylon ever was. As far as I can see, there is no further remedy for its wickedness. It has become altogether and desperately corrupt to the core. Therefore I resented the deception and injury inflicted upon the poor people throughout the world under your name and the pretended authority of the Roman Church. That is what I attacked, and shall still attack, as long as there is a Christian spirit in me. Not that I presume to do impossible things, or am hoping to accomplish anything in this most horrible Roman Sodom and Babylon especially since so many mad flatterers are opposing me; but I observe that I am under obligation to serve all Christians. Hence it behooves me to give them counsel and warning, in order that the number of those who are ruined by these Roman destroyers may be small and their injury less.

For you do not conceal from yourself the fact that for many years there has poured from Rome into all the world like a flood nothing but what ruins men in body, soul, and possessions, and nothing but the most offensive examples in every form of wickedness. All this is as plain as daylight to everybody and by it the Roman Church which once upon a time was the holiest of all, has now become a den of thieves surpassing all other dens, the brothel surpassing all brothels, the capital and kingdom of every sin, of death and damnation, so that it is not easy to imagine that there could be an increase of wickedness, even if Antichrist himself were to come.

Meanwhile, holy Father Leo, you are like a sheep among wolves,[638] like Daniel among the lions,[639] like Ezekiel among scorpions.[640] What can you accomplish alone against so many monsters? Even though three or four learned and godly cardinals should side with you, what would that amount to among so many? You would have to perish by poison before you could undertake to remedy matters. It is over with the Roman See; the endless wrath of God has overtaken it. It is hostile to ecumenical councils; it refuses to accept instruction or to submit to a reformation; and yet it cannot check its unchristian madness, in order that it may fulfill what was said concerning its mother, ancient Babylon: "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; forsake her."[641]

It would be your office and that of the cardinals to end this miserable condition, but the disease baffles the physician. The

638) Matt. 10, 16.
639) Dan. 6, 16 ff.
640) Ezek. 2, 6.
641) Jer. 51, 9.

horses and the wagon no longer obey the driver. That is the reason why I have always felt sorry, O pious Leo, that, being worthy of the papacy in better times, you became Pope at this time. The Roman See is not worthy of you and such as you, but the evil spirit ought to be Pope, since he, rather than you, reigns at Babylon.

Would to God that, relieved of the honor (as those men, your most injurious flatterers, call it), you might support yourself by some prebend or from your own inheritance! Verily, this honor ought to be bestowed on no one except on Judas Iscariot and his ilk, who are castaways from God.[642] For, tell me, of what use are you in the papacy except that your authority and title is the more misused for injuring men in their possessions and souls, for increasing sin and shame, and for quenching faith and truth, the worse and more desperate the papacy becomes? O most unhappy Leo, who art seated on the most dangerous throne! Verily, I am telling you the truth, for I mean well with you.

If St. Bernard bewailed his Pope Eugenius at a time when the Roman See, though already in a very bad condition, was still cherishing the hope of a coming improvement, how much more should we bewail you, since in these three hundred years wickedness and irremediable ruin have spread beyond all bounds! Is it not true that under the wide heavens there is nothing worse, more poisoned, more abominable, than the Roman Curia? It far exceds the vices of the Turks, so that the common saying is true, viz., that Rome was formerly the gate of heaven, but is now become the yawning mouth of hell, and that, alas! a mouth which no one can shut because of the wrath of God. Nothing remains for us to do than to give our warning to some who may heed it and may be preserved from being swallowed up by this Roman chasm.

Behold, my father, this has been the impelling cause why I have knocked so hard against this pestilential see. For so far was my mind from intending to grow furious at your person that I was hoping to merit your favor and gratitude and to be considered one who had acted for your best interest by making a bold and sharp attack on your prison, or rather, your hell. For it seems to me that all the arguments of all intelligent, learned men against the most appalling disorders of your antichristian Curia ought to be a good thing and a blessing to you and many others. All who inflict on the Curia every possible hurt and harm are, forsooth, doing something that you should do: all who bring the Curia into the worst disrepute are honoring Christ. In short, all are good Christians who are bad Romanists.

I will say still more: it would never have entered my mind to start a disturbance for the Roman Curia or to engage in a disputation with it. For since I saw that there was no help

642) John 17, 12.

for it, that all expense and labor to save it was wasted, I despised it, dismissed it from my mind, and said: Good-bye, dear Rome! Keep stinking, whatever there is stinking in thee; remain unclean forever, whatever there is unclean in thee![643] And thus I withdrew myself to a quiet, undisturbed study of Holy Scripture, in order that I might be of service to those among whom I dwelt. While I was not laboring without fruit in this endeavor, the Evil One opened his eyes and became aware of what I was doing. Forthwith he incited with an insane ambition his servant Eck, an especial enemy of Christ and the truth, and inspired him with the thought of dragging me into an unlooked-for disputation, that he might catch me in some little statement regarding the papacy which escaped me unawares. Then this great bragging champion bristled up, sputtered and spouted, as though he already held me captive, and asserted that for the honor of God and the glory of the holy Roman Church he would dare to achieve anything, etc.

In the next six paragraphs Luther gives a brief *résumé* of his controversies, and of the rude rebuffs with which he had invariably met in his peaceable endeavors to correct existing errors. He concludes his letter with these words:—

Now, then, I come, holy Father Leo, to prostrate myself before you, and to pray that if it is possible, you will address yourself to the task of putting a bridle on your flatterers who pretend peace, but are enemies of peace. As to my recanting my teaching, you need not wait for that; and nobody need attempt to bring that about, unless he wants to create still greater confusion. Moreover, I cannot tolerate any rules and limitations for expounding Scripture; for the Word of God, which teaches every liberty, shall not and must not be bound. If these two things are left free to me, there is nothing that I shall not willingly do or suffer if it is laid upon me. I am an enemy to strife; I desire to incite or stir up nobody; but I do not wish to be provoked myself. However, if I am provoked, I shall not, by the help of God, permit myself to be forbidden speech or writing. Your Holiness with a few words can readily cancel and abolish all these wranglings and command peace, and I have always been quite ready to hear you say this.

Therefore, my holy Father, do not listen to the sweet sirens who are saying to you that you are not a mere man, but that there is in you a mixture of God, who has authority to command and require anything. This is not going to be; you will not accomplish it. You are a servant of all the servants of God, and in a more precarious and miserable state than any other man on earth. Be not deceived by those who lie and fawn to

643) Rev. 22, 11.

you, saying that you are a lord over all the world, who will suffer no one to be a Christian except he is subject to you, and who prate to you that you have power over heaven, hell, and purgatory. They are your enemies, they seek to destroy your soul. As Isaiah says: "My well-beloved, those who praise and exalt thee, cause thee to err."[644] All who say to you that you are above a council and above Christendom in general, err. All who ascribe to you alone authority to interpret the Scriptures, err. They all seek nothing else than to strengthen their unchristian endeavors in the Christian Church by means of your name, as the Evil Spirit, alas! has done through many of your predecessors. In short, do not believe any who exalt you, but only those who humble you. That is God's manner of judging, as it is written: "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree."[645]

Behold, how unlike are Christ and His vicegerents! For they all pretend to be His vicegerents; and I am afraid that they are but too literally His vicegerents. For a vicegerent acts in the absence of his lord. If a Pope rules in the absence of Christ, who is not dwelling in the Pope's heart, is it not quite true that he is in Christ's stead? But what can such a crowd (as gather around a Christless Pope) be but a gathering without Christ? And what can such a Pope be but Antichrist and an idol? How much better did the apostles act when they called themselves, and had others call them, nothing but the servants of Christ who was dwelling in them, not the vicegerents of some one absent!

It may be that I am impudent in undertaking to teach your lofty Majesty, from whom everybody else is to receive instruction, and by whom, as your vicious flatterers assert, all kings and courts are judged. But I follow the example of St. Bernard, in his treatise,[646] dedicated to Pope Eugenius, which all Popes should know by heart. I am not doing it with the intention of becoming your teacher, but merely from a faithful concern about you and from a sense of duty which compels every man to be concerned about his fellow man even in a matter that is safe, and which so diligently guards a fellow man both against danger and ease that it tells us not to consider a person's high or low estate. Inasmuch as I know that your Holiness is tossed about at Rome, that is, on the high seas, with innumerable perils, rife in every place, and that you live and labor in such misery that you are in need of the humblest Christian's help, I have not deemed it improper to forget your Majesty long enough to discharge to you the duty of brotherly love. I cannot flatter you in so serious and dangerous a matter: if there are some who will not understand that I am your friend and more than your subject, One will be found who understands me.

644) Is. 5, 1; 9, 16; freely according to the Vulgate.
645) Luke 1, 52.
646) *De Consideratione*, that is, What the Pope is to Bear in Mind.

Finally, lest I come before your Holiness empty-handed, I bring with me a little book which I have published under your name; it expresses my wish for, and makes a beginning of, peace, and I hope that from it your Holiness may have a taste of the matters with which I would like to be occupied, and with which I could be profitably occupied, if your unchristian flatterers would let me. It is a small book if you look at the amount of paper in it, but it comprises the sum total of a Christian life, if you understand its meaning. I am poor; I have nothing else wherewith to serve you; nor are you, for your improvement, in need of any but spiritual gifts. Herewith I commend myself to your Holiness, whom Christ may keep for me forever. Amen.[647]

This surely was not the letter which Miltitz had desired. He must have felt that this letter ended his career at Rome forever, and hence he pleaded with the Elector to commend him to the Pope for his conciliatory endeavors.[648] Miltitz ceases henceforth to be a factor in Luther's deliberations. He seems not to have returned to Rome, but to have infested the Rhine and Main country for years. During a revel, while traveling on the Main river, he fell overboard *bene potus*, as the old chronicler says, drunk, and his corpse was not found until several weeks after.

The "little book" which accompanied Luther's letter to the Pope appeared in a German edition for the common people and a few days later in a Latin edition for the learned. While the contents are the same in both editions, the argumentation is more succint and compact and the style more nervous in the Latin edition. The German edition Luther dedicated to the Stadtvogt Muehlpfort of Zwickau.

This treatise of Luther confronts the reader in its opening paragraph with a paradox:—

"A Christian man is the most free lord of all, subject to none.
"A Christian man is the dutiful servant of all, subject to every one.

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647) XV, 783-795; an excerpt in Smith, *Life*, etc., p. 91 f.
648) XV, 796 ff.

"These statements seem to conflict, but when they are found to agree, they will edify us. For both are contained in that saying of Paul (1 Cor. 9, 19): 'For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all.' You owe nothing but to love one another; for true love, by its nature, is dutiful and obedient to what it loves. Thus also Christ, although Lord of all, yet was made a man under the Law, free and a servant, at the same time in the form of God and in that of a slave."

A man consists of a double nature, spiritual and corporeal; and these two are contrary, the spirit fighting the flesh and the flesh the spirit. "But it is clear that external things have no effect on Christian liberty. . . . For what can it profit the soul if the body is well, free, and lively, eats, drinks, and does what it pleases, since even the wickedest slaves of all vice often have these advantages? Again, how can ill health or captivity or hunger or thirst hurt the soul, since the best men and those of the purest conscience often suffer these things? . . . Nor does it profit the soul to have the body clad in priestly garments, nor hurt her to have it clothed as a layman. . . .

"One thing only is needful to a good life and Christian liberty—the Gospel of Christ. . . . Perhaps you ask: What is this Word of God, and how is it to be used, since there are so many words of God? . . ." Faith is the sole salutary and efficacious use of God's Word, for the Word is not to be grasped or nourished with any works, but with faith only. One incomparable grace of faith is that it joins the soul to Christ as the bride to the bridegroom, by which mystery, as the apostle teaches, Christ and the soul are made one flesh. Who is able to prize this royal marriage enough, or comprehend the riches of this grace?

Not only are we most free kings of all, but we are priests forever, by which priesthood we can appear before God, pray for one another, and teach one another. "Here you ask: 'If all Christians are priests, by what name shall we distinguish those whom we call clergy from the laity?' I answer: By those words, 'priest,' 'clergyman,' 'spiritual,' 'ecclesiastic,' an injury is done, since they are transferred from all Christians to a few. Scripture makes no distinction but to call them ministers, servants, and stewards who now boast that they are popes, bishops, and lords. But although it is true that all are priests, all are not able equally to teach publicly, nor ought all who are able so to do. . . ."

Now let us turn to the second part, and see how the master of all must become the ministering servant to all. When the soul has been purified by faith, she greatly desires to purify all things and especially her own body, and thus naturally brings forth the good works by which without faith she could not be justified. "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man produces good works, and so with bad works." Let us not despise good works, but rather teach and encourage them, only guarding against the false opinion that they make a man

just. We conclude, therefore, that a Christian does not live to himself, but to Christ and his neighbor, to Christ by faith, to his neighbor by love. By faith he is snatched above himself to God; by love he falls below himself to his neighbor, yet always dwelling in God and His love.[649]

The general principles here developed are in a postscript applied to ceremonies, and the Christian is taught with regard to these to avoid, on the one hand, indifference, on the other hand, legalistic rigor. Obedience to God and love to our neighbor will not permit us to tolerate any ceremony that is really an abuse, but it will also keep us from abolishing any ceremony that can be observed without harm to the soul.

Calmly Luther now looked forward to the coming events. On the final action that he must take his mind was made up. He knew himself in God's hands. With cordial interest he follows Melanchthon's courtship,—if we may call it so,—and with his parents and two of his sisters, Frau Mackenroth and Frau Kauffmann, attends his wedding on November 25.[650] Kate Crapp, the daughter of one of the aldermen of Wittenberg, who became Melanchthon's wife (as Luther thinks, to save the young professor's life), had an excellent reputation as a Christian young woman, and though Melanchthon hesitated to the last moment, trying to square his scholar's conscience to the sacrifice which he thought he was making of his highest literary interests in behalf of his sickening body,[651] he, too, became calm, and his better health was a great comfort to Luther when he reflected that soon the university might have to do without Luther.

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649) Summary by Dr. Smith, *Life and Letters*, etc., p. 92 f. XIX, 986-1011.
650) XXIa, 311; Erl., *l. c.* II, 535.
651) C. R. XXVIII, 11 f.

34. The Burning of the Bull.

In his tactics against Luther, Aleander was guided by curious psychological considerations. He regarded the public burning of Luther's books as a very valuable measure for making a quick and lasting impression on the public mind. In these bonfires he beheld splendid advertising qualities: they acquainted the common people thoroughly with the practical meaning of the papal bull against Luther. He declared cynically that these burnings were more effectual in convincing the sluggish mind of the masses than the most telling argument in a debate or in a written refutation. Moreover, they served as an admirable support to the efforts of the preaching friars, whom we of to-day would call the papal press agents; by their fervid deliverances in a thousand pulpits the Curia sought to fire the people's mind and weld it into shape to suit its purposes. Lastly, these public burnings rendered the indecision of such clerics and magistrates as favored Luther's cause critical to themselves; Rome was testing the loyalty of her every son and daughter by these pyres, and it counted on the natural cowardice of men to overcome any scruples which they might entertain as to the righteousness of the Pope's cause. By rousing great popular passions also the lukewarm and the cold may be set on fire, artificially at least, and the mad rush of mobs sweeps the halting and the unwilling along against their will.

Aleander's psychological scheme was that of the agitator and demagog; it proved as short-sighted and, in the end, disappointing as the measures of such people usually are. We have noted how the intended effect of these burnings was lost because the measure was

employed in a cause that was not popular. The long chain of smoking wood-piles that marked the route of the nuncio from Flanders to the Rhine, and thence up the noble German river, also the other lurid trail by which Eck had tried to mark his tour of triumph from the south around to the east and north of Wittenberg were interpreted by the people as fire-signals calling them to arms against an invader. Rome had stupidly lighted these signals against itself.

Luther also understood the mind of the common people, though he never wasted much time in calculating psychological effects. When he first heard of the intentions of his enemies to burn his books, his rugged German mind promptly resolved: Then I shall burn theirs! Blow for blow—that was the old warrior maxim of a genuine Saxon. Such a resolution would be formed without any excitement, as a plain necessity; as, when a fly pesters you, you kill it. Luther's letter to Spalatin of July 10 shows this. Luther had been calmly watching the mad proceedings of Rome's emissaries, and had discussed with his colleagues the execution of a plan that had suggested itself to him long ago when during his study of the decretals he had exclaimed: "These misleading and dangerous laws deserve that we make a flaming heap of them." Luther had conceived the idea of burning the decretals in church during the public service. According to the old custom he preached between two lighted candles. When the report reached Wittenberg that his writings had been burned at Merseburg, and that a public burning was to take place also at Leipzig, he decided to await only this latter event, and then proceed to the burning of the Pope's bull. His plan underwent a change owing to the following occurrence.

Duke George and his advisers at Leipzig could come to no decision regarding the public burning of Luther's writings. They were willing enough to burn them, but they were not sure that they had the people on their side. Eck's authority and even the authenticity of the bull were openly questioned by some, and they hesitated on these formal grounds. But as a demonstration against Luther Duke George and some bishops who happened to be with him [652] decided to order such students as were from territories under their jurisdiction to quit Wittenberg, because it had been declared heretical. Accordingly, about 150 students began to pack their belongings and prepared for the exodus. A canon of Breslau who had been treated with great kindness by the Wittenbergers now repaid his hosts by trying to make the exodus look like a very formidable affair: it was to be the people's denunciation of a heretic. He did this to gain favor with the Roman prelates and to compensate them for his previous cowardice in not bearing testimony against Luther. Some priests from Wuerzburg who happened to be among the number of those ordered away from Wittenberg aided him in his maneuver. A great commotion was started at Wittenberg, everywhere there were men running about and calling for wagons to take them out of the town. Here and there parties of students with their knapsacks on their back were seen walking towards the gates. The intended panic which now broke out among the citizens was skillfully fanned by the designing agitators: people were told that the university had been dissolved. The rumor of this event, magnified, as usual, out of all proportion to the facts in the case, spread rapidly, and the

652) Scultetus, who was returning from the Emperor's coronation, was with them.

Elector, who had just returned from Cologne, dispatched his court chaplain to the scene of the disturbance, in order to obtain authentic information. Traveling post-haste day and night, Spalatin reached Wittenberg at four o'clock in the morning on December 3. He found the town quiet and peaceful and learned in the morning that the great majority of the students had remained, "sons of most excellent parents." Doctor Martin was cheerful and in good spirits; his lectures Spalatin found attended by nearly four hundred students, while there were five hundred listening to Melanchthon. The whole excitement, he reported to the Elector, had been a false alarm; at the university's present state of prosperity even the withdrawal of 150 students was a matter of small moment, etc.

However, after this experience Luther decided to delay the burning of the Pope's bull no longer, and to make the occasion a counterdemonstration to that instituted by Duke George and his bishops. Early in the morning on December 10 the following notice written by Melanchthon was found posted on the door of the city church:—

> Let everybody in whom zeal for the truth of the Gospel has been kindled be at nine o'clock near Holy Cross Church outside of the city walls, where, according to old and apostolic custom, the wicked books of the papal constitution and of the scholastic theology are to be burned. For the audacity of the enemies of the Gospel has gone so far that they have burned the godly and evangelical books of Luther.
>
> Up, then, ye godly youths who are studying here! Come together for this godly and religious spectacle; it may be that the time has arrived that Antichrist is to be made manifest.[653]

Muther[654] helps us to find even today the place where the burning took place. Immediately after passing the Elster, or Eastern, gate, near the place where the hospital stood, we turn to the right, and through

653) XXIa, 323. 654) In *Die Lutherstadt Wittenberg*, p. 66.

an old entrance, in the style of the Renaissance, walk into the cemetery that has been laid out around the Holy Cross chapel. "Amid tall spruces and pines white gravestones are glistening, marking sunken graves. On the inside of the entrance a tablet has been let into the masonry in memory of Luther's little Magdalen who was buried here in 1528. Not far from this place stands the Luther oak, a memorial of the many courageous feats of her father."[655]

Here, on that cold December morning, crowds of students gathered with the doctors and magisters of the university and many citizens of Wittenberg. In an open space a wood-pile had been erected. "A magister of the university of no small renown" applied the torch, and then Luther stepped forward, visibly moved, and placed on the burning fagots the papal bull, the decretals, and other writings of the papists,[656] speaking only these few words in Latin: "Since thou hast grieved the Holy One of God,[657] may the eternal fire consume thee!" Having said this, he returned at once to the city, followed by the doctors and magisters and the majority of the citizens.

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655) Hausrath, *l. c.* I, 390.

656) The writings burned were the Decretum, the Decretals, the Sexts, the Clementines, the Extravagantes. These writings constitute the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, or Canon Law, which is divided into four parts; 1. The Decretum Gratiani, compiled by Gratianus, a Camaldolese friar at Bologna, about 1143; 2. Decretalium Gregorii P. IX, libb. V, added to the former by order of Pope Gregory IX in 1234; 3. Sextus Decretalium liber, added by order of Boniface VIII in 1298; it consists of five books; 4. V libri Clementinarum, another collection of decretals added in 1313 by Clement V. This concludes the *Jus Canonicum*. Later decretals are called extravagantes, that is, documents outside of the original *Jus Canonicum*. IV, 627; see also Guericke, Kirchengesch. (7th ed.) Bd. II, 224, 336. Besides the foregoing there were burned the bull *Exsurge, Domine*, the *Summa Angelica*, the *Chrysopassus* of Eck, and other writings of the same author, the writings of Emser, and a few others which were added by the bystanders, "in order that these marauders, the papists, may see that it is no great feat to burn books which they cannot refute." The *Summa Angelica* is a treatise in casuistry for the administration of the sacrament of penitence; its author is Angelus Carletus. (XXIa, 324, where Luther informs Spalatin of these proceedings the same day.)

657) That is, Jesus Christ, according to Mark 1, 24; Acts 2, 27, not Luther himself, as Romanists have interpreted these words.

But several hundred students remained at the fire and proceeded to celebrate the event in student fashion. They sang the *Te Deum* and from that passed over to the funeral dirge *De profundis*, for this was the funeral of the bull and the decretals. Then they returned to town for their forenoon luncheon, while the fire was being kept up. After the luncheon they requisitioned a farmer's wagon, which was mounted by students dressed in fantastic garbs. Four boys who had been placed in front started singing funeral wails after the manner of the Jewish synagog. Over them, fastened to a pole, an immense bull was fastened: the students announced that they had purchased it from Rome for twenty gulden in gold. Some of the students in the wagon wore placards with humorous inscriptions addressed to Rome, the preaching friars, etc. In the rear of the wagon a student had been stationed with a large tuba, from which he drew sickening blasts. This improvised masque paraded the streets of the town, stopping ever and anon to collect more faggots and writings of Romanists for the burning. The procession returned to the fire near the Elster Gate, and the flames were revived amid shouts and laughter and humorous remarks as now a load of Eck's books, now of Emser's, now of Murner's were dumped into the flames. A great crowd of spectators was attracted as the procession passed through the town. Crowding their windows and street entrances, the Wittenbergers cheered the odd vehicle and laughed at the agonized moanings of the bombardone and the ululations of the would-be Jews. At the fire another *Te Deum* was started, followed by *O tu pauper Judas* (Oh, thou poor Judas) and *Requiem aeternam* (Rest in peace!) From his elevated position the driver of the wagon delivered an oration in which he expounded the bull, and read passages from a

treatise of the Leipzig divine Jerome Ochsenfart von Dungersheim, which were received with salvo after salvo of laughter and applause. It was growing dark when the crowd dispersed. How little these ludicrous proceedings which threatened to turn his serious act of faith into a carnival jest were to Luther's liking was made apparent the next day.

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35. The Morning After: The Die is Cast!

After their hilarious performances of the preceding day the students in Luther's classes faced a very serious and sober-minded professor on the morning of December 11. It was the Pope's birthday; however, there is no evidence that Luther was conscious of the fact. The chronicler who has recorded the burning of the papal bull for the first (Wittenberg) edition of Luther's Works has given twenty small lines to the episode of the burning, but he devotes nearly a column and a half to the remarks of Luther to the students on the next day. Luther was still engaged on his exposition of the Psalms, which he had begun in March, 1519. That morning he opened his lecture with a solemn excursus on the proper attitude of a true Christian towards the papacy. Beware of the papal laws and statutes! that was the burden of his impressive address, which was received in awed silence.

The burning of the decretals he declared mere child's play. No doubt, much that was puerile had been injected into the serious affair of yesterday by the frolicsome and boisterous youths of the university. Perhaps, too, there had been some in that exuberant crowd of young academicians who had welcomed the proceedings of the pre-

vious day merely as a capital diversion, a bully break in the humdrum life at school, and who were far from realizing the critical meaning of the affair. Their professor was no dullard, no squeamish pedant: he could enjoy a joke as much as any one, and had shown often enough that with his quick perception, his ready wit, and cheerful temperament he could discover the humorous element in men and things, and express it in a most happy fashion. But Luther is one of those rare humorists who believe that even men's humor must serve the Lord's cause, or else it proves dissipating, or worse. Luther believed that his jests or other people's jests must never take him away entirely, or for a long time, from serious business; he must quickly return to that. So that morning.

Far more necessary than the destruction of printed papal deliverances, he held, was the destruction of the Papal See with all its teachings and abominations. Freighting every word with a profound conviction, he said to the students: If you do not with all your heart resist the blasphemous rule of the Pope, you cannot be saved. For the kingdom of the Pope is so utterly contrary to the kingdom of Christ and to the Christian life that it would be better and safer to live in a desert where you never meet a human being than to dwell in the kingdom of Antichrist.

Luther sees a fearful danger looming large before all Christians; if they are not exceedingly careful, it will cost them their souls. That danger is: denying Christ, of which all become guilty who side with the papists. Whoever submits to their religion and idolatrous worship as practised in the papal church of the day, and is too much of a coward to contradict their virulent errors, must perish forever in the life to come. But if he does

raise his voice against them, he must surely expect to be in peril of his life. Nevertheless, Luther exclaims:

I shall rather spend my life in this world in constant danger than load my conscience with guilt by keeping silent; for I would have to render God an account of my silence. Accordingly, since I am heartily opposed for some time to this mad Roman beast, I regard this Babylonian plague and pestilence as an abomination, and as long as I live, I intend to point this out to my brethren and to warn them. I am unable to check the great harm and corruption inflicted upon innumerable souls; still there are some of our own people whom I must guard lest they be thrust into the bottomless pit with the rest. Let others do what they may in this matter; for it is time that we take our reformation seriously.

The chronicler states that he has reproduced only a part of Luther's remarks, that Luther spoke in clear, distinct tones, that he delivered himself with a fine natural grace which charmed his hearers, and that all had felt as if their father had opened his very heart to them. The chronicler regrets that he is such a clumsy reporter, and lacks the eloquence properly to relate the impressive scene. But he has made up for any real or imaginary defect by the fervent personal testimony which he appends to his account.

Not one of us, he says, unless he is more irrational than a stick (as all papists are), doubts that what he said is unalloyed truth. Moreover, to all simple believers, to all who are still children in Christ, that is, who have not yet become vitiated by the contamination of the papistic teaching and the magnificent reputation which it seems to enjoy in this world, to all guileless Christians, it is quite plain that Dr. Luther is an angel of the living God,[658] who is to feed the erring sheep with the Word of Truth only, just because those who dishonestly claim the title of shepherds of the flock are dumb dogs that cannot bark, and are sleeping.[659] And although the mountains, that is, the great heads of the world, and the cedars of Lebanon (the rulers of the Church) resist him with all their power and pride, still the sheep of Christ know their Shepherd's voice which calls to them through this messenger of His.[660] But the voice of a strange shepherd these sheep will not hear. Blessed are those who are not offended at the mean appear-

658) Mal. 2, 7.
659) Is. 56, 10
660) John 10, 4, 5.

ance of this man [Luther], who touches the mountains of this world, which, by their nature, cannot but smoke.[661]

Thoughts similar to these must have stirred the hearts of many in Luther's youthful audience. For the moral condition of the little university town and the Christian life and conduct of students and citizens at this time were of a high order. Fragments of correspondence that passed between literary men at this time give us a glimpse of the student life at Wittenberg. About a month after the burning Felix Ulscenius writes to his friend Capito:

The man of God, Luther, mightily expounds the Scriptures. I often hear him; he preaches very freely. My pupils do not miss a single one of his sermons, by which they direct their life, and they consider themselves superlatively fortunate to live in a time when they can see a man like Luther and hear his evangelic doctrine. There is nothing here at Wittenberg to keep any one from studying; the place is pleasant, the people well-behaved, board is good, and drunkenness, so hurtful to the Muses, is here unknown. Even if my pupils desired to live a dissipated life, they would, I feel safe in affirming, be withheld by the example of others, both sons of nobles and of commons, so perfect is the discipline and the love of the sciences at Wittenberg.[662]

The future reformer of Constanz in Switzerland, Thomas Blaurer, was a student at Wittenberg at this time. He writes to his brother, Ambrose, who was studying at Tuebingen and had there learned to know Melanchthon:

I recently confessed [that is, went to confession] to Luther, who exhorted me to take the Lord's Supper, which I did frequently during this holiday season (Christmas, 1520). Melanchthon has entirely left human learning to devote himself to sacred; and he exhorts us to do the same with such good purpose that there is no one near Wittenberg who does not carry a Bible in his hand. Luther lectures on the Psalms, Melanchthon on Paul, others on other things.[663]

In such a spiritual atmosphere, charged with intense feeling, the event of December 10 had taken place. By

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661) Ps. 144, 5. XV, 1617 ff.
662) Smith, *l. c.* I, 439 f. 663) Smith, *l. c.* I, 438.

his calm action, and the brief remark with which he threw the bull on the burning fagots, Luther had made a profound impression on the spectators. His intensely earnest appeal to the students the next morning not only deepened this impression, but also exhibited his action in its true significance. Luther's audience on the Pope's birthday understood that their teacher had come to the parting of the ways with the papacy. The die was cast. Koestlin says:—

> This step involved *the most formal, the most trenchant, and the irrevocable RENUNCIATION* of the authority of the highest established church government and its entire legislation, which up to that time had been in force in Western Christendom.[664]

By this act Luther meant to declare publicly that he was done with the Roman hierarchy. He also meant to teach men how to treat with contempt and scorn its blustering, bungling, blundering tyrants, great and small, and their stupid and studied meannesses.

To his aged friend and benefactor Staupitz, who was in sore straits as to the attitude he must now assume to his former protégé,[665] Luther wrote on January 14, 1521:—

> Greeting. When we were at Augsburg, most reverend father, you said amongst other things which we discussed in connection with this affair of mine. "Remember, brother, that you began this work in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." This saying I received, not as coming from you, but as addressed to me (from on high) through you, and I am keeping it carefully stored in my memory.
>
> Accordingly, I pray you now in your own words: Be mindful yourself that you spoke these words to me. Hitherto we have dealt playfully with this affair; now something more serious is impending; and as you said: Unless God accomplishes it, it cannot possibly be accomplished. This affair is now plainly in the hand of almighty God, and no one can deny this. Who can advise in this matter? What can men conceive? The tumult is raging mightily, so that it seems to

664) *Martin Luther*, I, 375. (Italics ours.)

665) He was wailing: "Martin has undertaken a difficult task and is acting with great spirit, enlightened by God; but I stammer and am a child that needs milk." (Koestlin, *l. c.* I, 371.)

me that it cannot be quieted except by the last day. So great is the excitement on both sides.

The papacy is not what it was yesterday and the day before. Though it is excommunicating, and burning books, and may even slay me, something quite extraordinary is at the door. How happy would the Pope have been had he handled this business with good means, making for peace, rather than with storming and violence, to destroy Luther! I have burned the books of the Pope and the bull, at first with trembling and sighing, but I am now happier over it than over any other act in my life; for they are more noxious than I believed.[666]

This letter shows that Luther realized that he had burned all bridges behind him, and saw the pyre being lighted for him. "Farewell, father," he closes his letter; "pray for the Word of God and for me. I am carried about and tossed hither and thither in these floods."

No intelligent person in Europe put any other construction on Luther's action than Luther did himself. The secretary of the Venetian Ambassador Cornaro writes from Worms, where he has heard of the burning of the bulls:

Now, this is indeed a momentous event, and the more significant because Luther has in those countries, and in the rest of Germany, a very great following.[667]

The news of what Luther had done soon reached the imperial court, which was just moving down the Rhine toward Worms. The gentlemen traveling with Charles V had their correspondents in all parts of Europe, and hastened to impart to them the unheard-of proceedings at Wittenberg.

Hear what Luther did at Wittenberg in revenge: he burned the Pope's bull, the whole Canon Law and books of the Sentences, and that publicly! So it is announced from the emperor's court.[668]

This was the intelligence which Beatus Rhenanus at Basle excitedly dispatched to Amerbach, an admirer of Luther at Avignon, the papal residence in Southern

666) XV, 2422 f.
667) Hausrath, *l. c.* I, 392.
668) Smith, *l. c.* I, 439.

France in the days of the schism. One of the eyes with which the Pope was peeping, prying, peering in every state in Europe was turning quite green because of what it saw the German noblemen do who were accompanying the Emperor to his first Diet. Aleander reports to Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, the vice-chancellor:—

> These scoundrels so honor Luther that some of them in a public debate with a Spaniard, held in the crowded marketplace, said that he was without sin and had never erred, and that he was, therefore, to be more highly esteemed than St. Augustine, who was a sinner, and both could err and had erred. So, recently, they have made a likeness of him with the Dove over his head and with the cross of the Lord, and on another sheet with an aureole. The people buy these pictures, kiss them, and carry them even in the palace. Your lordship can see from this what people we have to deal with. Not the good old Catholic Germany! God grant that worse does not come to pass! [669]

To Cardinal Lawrence Pucci, Aleander reports that two German knights—Smith suggests Sickingen as one of them—had been found reading and freely and admiringly discussing Luther's books in the Emperor's room, until the Emperor expressed his displeasure.[670]

Aleander's reports are exaggerated and malicious. The assertion of Luther's sinlessness which he claims to have heard meant nothing more than this, that Luther was not in error in his contention with Rome. The pictures which he mentions, and what he claims the people did with them, refer to the people's enthusiastic interest in their hero. But Aleander's account of it is that of an envious man. If he had lived to read Carlyle, he would most likely have had a paroxysm of rage. And if he had lived in America a few years ago, it is not improbable that he would have reported to Rome that the Americans had started a new cult and were carrying Teddy-bears around with them. Aleander's indignation

669) Smith, *l. c.* I, 460.
670) Smith, *l. c.* I, 428 f.

at the idolatrous practice which he describes is amusing in a Roman theologian who had helped to train the Germans to saint-worship. Now the people had found a saint whom they canonized themselves, and they liked their home-made saint better than the Rome-made fictions.

Two months after the burning of the Pope's bull, Aleander reports to Cardinal Giulio:—

> Now the whole of Germany is in full revolt; nine-tenths raise the war-cry "Luther," while the watch-word of the other tenth who are indifferent to Luther is: "Death to the Roman Curia!" 671)

Luther had in the meantime explained to the nation what the Roman decretals meant.

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36. The Appeal to the Public.

The burning of the papal bull, as we have seen, had not been a sudden outburst of passion, but a deliberate confessional act on the part of Luther and the Wittenberg faculty. These resolute men, however, did not conceal from themselves that they would be denounced as frenzied madcaps throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Partly to forestall this cheap criticism, partly to invite the general public to probe their own hearts and to take the measure of their own mental and spiritual thraldom under the Pope's rule, Luther issued one of his forceful tracts, in which he calmly assumed responsibility for the auto da fé at the Elster Gate, and challenged any one to show cause or reason why he should not have burned the bull. He was testing the moral fiber of the Germans: You have looked on at the Pope's bonfires which he has kindled from the North

671) Smith, *l. c.* I, 455.

Sea to the Elbe; if he can do that, why cannot I do the same?

Before the month of December closed, the booksellers were offering a Latin and a German brochure that bore the title: "Why the Books of the Pope and of His Followers Have Been Burned by Dr. Martin Luther. Whoever Will, Let Him Show Why They Have Burned Dr. Luther's Books." There must have been a very great sale of this tract; for modern editors have been able to produce, even at this late date, copies of thirteen different editions of the German tract alone. Germany accepted the invitation of Luther, and there was a considerable amount of profound thinking in German homes during the Christmas season of 1520.

The following is the tract:—

JESUS.

To all lovers of Christian truth, grace and peace from God!

I, who am called Martin Luther, Doctor of Holy Writ, Augustinian at Wittenberg, make known to each and all that by my choice, counsel, and co-operation the books of the Pope at Rome and of some of his followers were burned on Monday after St. Nicholas Day in the year, 1520. If anybody, as, indeed, I expect, should be surprised at this and ask for what reason and by what authority I have done this, let him find the answer here.

In the first place, it is a custom that has come down to us from olden times, to burn poisonous, wicked books; as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. 19, 19, that after the people had received the teaching of Paul, they burned books valued at fifty thousand pieces of silver.[672]

In the second place, I would not be worthy of being a baptized Christian, moreover, a Doctor of Holy Writ, and over and above that, a daily preacher who owes it to his title, calling, oath, and office to exterminate, or at any rate to resist, false, misleading, unchristian teaching. And while there are many more under the same obligation, though unwilling or loath to do it, perhaps from lack of understanding or from debilitating fear, still their example should not serve me as an excuse, if I should allow anybody's example to hold me back when my conscience has been sufficiently instructed and my spirit kindled with sufficient courage by the grace of God.

672) Luther says: "fuer fuenftausend Pfennig."

In the third place, I should still not have dared to undertake such a task, if I had not experienced and seen that the Pope and the false guides in popery, not only err and lead men astray, but, after many attempts that I have vainly made to instruct them, have become so obstinate and hardened in their unchristian, soul-destroying error that they not only refuse direction and teaching, but, stopping up their ears and shutting their eyes, blindly condemn and burn the teaching of the Gospel in an effort to confirm and maintain their antichristian, diabolical teaching.

Nor, in the fourth place, do I believe—until I have been differently informed—that they have received authority to do this from Pope Leo X, as far as he is personally involved in this affair. For I am hoping that such books as have been burned by me (although they were books of his predecessors) are displeasing even to him. But if he should even be pleased with them, I do not care. I know, and have been reliably informed, that the gentlemen at Cologne and Loewen who boast that they have permission and orders from his Imperial Majesty to burn my books are not telling the whole truth; for they have purchased the authority for what they are doing from a few officials by gifts worth many thousands of gulden.

In the fifth place, since great damage is done to the truth by their burning of books, and a false impression might thus be made on the plain people, to the destruction of many souls, I have been moved by the Spirit, as I trust, for the strengthening and preservation of (the faith of) the latter, to burn the books of the adversaries in turn, looking to the possibility which one can hardly hope for, that they may amend their conduct.

Accordingly, I ask everybody not to permit himself to be influenced by the lofty title, name, and reputation of the papacy, the Canon Law, and the use which has been made such a long time of the books that have been burned. But listen (reader) and observe first what the Pope has been teaching in his books, what noxious and abominable teachings are found in the sacred Canon Law, and what we have worshiped hitherto in the place of truth, and then frankly render your verdict whether I have done right or wrong in burning these books.

ARTICLES AND ERRORS IN THE CANON LAW AND THE PAPAL BOOKS FOR WHICH THEY DESERVE TO BE BURNED AND SHUNNED.

I. The Pope and his associates[673] are not obliged to submit to God's commandments and to obey them.

This horrible teaching he has plainly written down in the chapter *Solitae, de majoritate et obedientia,* where he interprets the words of Peter who says: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man,"[674] thus: With these words St. Peter did not mean himself nor his successors, but his subjects.

673) Die Seinen. 674) 1 Pet. 2, 13.

II. It is not a command, but a counsel of St. Peter when he teaches[675] that all Christians must be subject to their kings. (In the same place.)

III. The sun, they say, typifies the papal, the moon the secular authority in Christendom. (In the same place.)

IV. The Pope and his see are not obliged to be subject to Christian councils and ordinances. (Chap. *Significasti de elect.*)

V. The Pope in his heart has full power above all codes of law. (In *Prolo. Sexti.*)

VI. It follows thence that the Pope has authority to annul all councils and all ordinances, to alter them, and set up others, as, indeed, he is doing daily, so that there is no authority nor usefulness left for councils and Christian ordinances.

VII. The Pope, they say, has authority to demand sworn homage from bishops for their pallia. (Chap. *Significasti;* contrary to the statement in Matt. 10, 8: "Freely ye have received, freely give.")

VIII. Supposing that the Pope were so wicked that he were leading innumerable men to the devil in great multitudes, still no one would dare to reprove him on that account. (Dist. 40, *Si Papa.*)

This article, even if it were the only one, would be a sufficient reason for burning all the books of the Pope. For if they believe and teach unblushingly such abominable stuff, what deviltry, what unchristian act is there that they will not undertake? Observe, O Christian, what the Canon Law is teaching you!

IX. Under God, the salvation of the entire Christian Church depends upon the Pope. (In the same place; contrary to the statement: "I believe a holy Church," etc.) Accordingly, all Christians would have to perish whenever there is a wicked Pope.

X. No one on earth dare pass judgment on the Pope, nor dare any one criticize the Pope's decision, but the Pope is to judge all men on earth. (9. qu. 3, chap. *Cuncta.*)

This is the principal article, and in order that it may be thoroughly grasped, it is cited again and again throughout many chapters and nearly throughout the entire Canon Law, so that it seems as if the Canon Law had been invented solely to the end that the Pope might be free to do, or omit doing, whatsoever he pleases, that he might issue a permission to commit sin, and to set up obstacles to what is good. If this article stands, Christ and His word are overthrown. But if it does not stand, the entire Canon Law, together with the Pope and his see, is overthrown.

Now, to be sure, it does not stand; for St. Peter commands, 1. Ep. 5, 5: "All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility"; and St. Paul, Rom. 12, 10: "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves."[676]

675) *Ibid.*

676) Luther names Rom. 12, 10: "In honor preferring one another," but the text which he has actually cited is Phil. 2, 3.

And Christ says many times: "He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger."[677] Accordingly, Paul rebukes Peter, Gal. 2, 11, because the latter is not walking according to the Gospel; and in Acts 8, 14 St. Peter was sent out with St. John by the other apostles as one subject to them. Therefore it is not, and cannot be, true that the Pope is subject to no one nor can be judged by any one, but he is subject to and can be judged by everybody, for the reason that he wants to be the greatest. And the Canon Law, inasmuch as this is its basis and entire essence, strives in every point against the Gospel.

It is true, indeed, that the secular authorities must not be subject to their subjects. But Christ inverts and changes the order, saying: "Ye shall not be like the secular lords," and commands that among His people the greatest shall be subject to everybody, and suffer themselves to be judged by everybody. As He says, Luke 22, 25, 26: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; but ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger." But how can he be as the younger, if he will suffer no one to judge him?

If we would wrest the words of Christ, as some do, to this meaning, *viz.*, that a person is to regard himself in his heart as the lowest, but need not exhibit himself as such outwardly, we must say in reply that in that case he must also regard himself in his heart as the greatest, and not exhibit himself as such outwardly. Hence, in order that the words of Christ may stand, he must regard himself either way in his heart spiritually, or exhibit himself either way outwardly.

This is the article whence all ills have come into all the world. For this reason the Canon Law deserves to be exterminated and shunned as a noxious thing. For hence comes, yea, has already come, and everybody knows it, our inability to restrain evil, and to promote good, and we are forced to let the Gospel and faith perish while we are looking on.

XI. The Roman See imparts authority and power to all codes, but is subject to none of them. (25, qu. 1.) That is as much as to say: What the Pope wills is right; but he is not to do anything of the kind. Even as Christ says, Matt. 23, 4, concerning the Jewish Pharisees: "They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." Over and against this St. Paul says, Gal. 5, 1: "Stand fast in your liberty, and be not subject to the commandments of men."

XII. The rock on which Christ, according to Matt 16, 18, builds His Church is called the Roman See (dist. 19, and those following immediately after it), notwithstanding that according to 1 Cor. 10, 41 that Rock is Christ alone.

XIII. That the keys have been given to St. Peter alone, notwithstanding that Christ in Matt. 16, 19; 18, 18 gives them to the entire Church.

677) Luke 22, 26.

XIV. That the priestly office of Christ has been transferred from Him to St. Peter (*De Constit.*, c. *Translato*). Over and against this David says in Ps. 110, 4, and Paul to the Hebrews (chap. 7, 17) that Christ is our only high priest forever, and that his priestly office can never be transferred.

XV. That the Pope has authority to issue laws for the Christian Church (25, qu. 1, *Ideo permittente*). Over and against this St. Paul says, Gal. 5, 13: "Ye have been called by God unto liberty."

XVI. That he interprets the passage Matt. 16, 19: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," etc., to mean that he has power to burden the entire Christian Church with his wanton laws, while Christ, according to the plain tenor of His words, means nothing else than this, that sinners are to be urged to submit to punishment and to repentance, and has no intention whatever to burden the rest who are not guilty with laws.

XVII. That under penalty of excommunication and becoming guilty of a sin he issues commands to refrain on certain days from eating meat, eggs, butter, and other food, though he has not such authority and can only in a friendly manner admonish people, and must leave it to each person's free will, without coercing them.

XVIII. That he has forbidden marriage to the entire order of the priesthood, by which he has, without reason, greatly increased sin and shame, contrary to God's command and Christian liberty.

XIX. That Pope Nicholas III or IV amongst many wicked statements in his antichristian decretal has declared that by giving the keys to St. Peter and his successors Christ has given them authority over the heavenly and the earthly kingdom, though everybody knows full well that Christ fled from an earthly crown (John 6, 15), and all priests have the keys, and yet not all are emperors over heavenly and secular kingdoms.

XX. That he regards as true and demands acceptance for the great unchristian lie that the Emperor Constantine gave him Rome, a territory, a kingdom, and authority on earth. Over and against this Christ says, Matt. 6, 19: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth"; likewise, v., 24: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon at the same time."

XXI. That he boasts that he is the heir to the Roman Empire (*De Sent. et Re Jud.*, c. *Pastoralis*), though everybody knows full well that the spiritual office and secular rule are incompatible. And St. Paul, in Titus 1, 9, tells ministers to attend to the Word of God.

XXII. That he teaches that it is proper for a Christian to protect himself against violence by violence, contrary to Christ who says, Matt. 5, 40: "If any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

XXIII. That subjects may disobey their sovereigns, and that he may dethrone kings, as he asserts in many places and has often done, contrary to God.

XXIV. That he also claims to have authority to annul all oaths, covenants, and contracts, contrary to God, who commands everybody to keep a trust to which he has become a partner.

XXV. That the Pope has authority to dispense from vows made to God, and to change them (*De Vot. et Vot. Redempt.*), which is also contrary to God.

XXVI. Whoever delays the fulfilment of a vow because of a command of a Pope is not guilty of a breach of his vow. (In the same place.) That is as much as to say: The Pope is above God.

XXVII. That no married person may become a servant of God, although Abraham and many saints have lived in wedlock, and God Himself, without doubt, has instituted matrimony. Thus Antichrist again mounts above God.

XXVIII. That he makes his useless laws equal to the Gospels and Holy Scripture; as he asserts in many places in the decretals.

XXIX. That the Pope has authority to interpret and quote the Holy Scriptures to suit his own pleasure, and to suffer no one to interpret them differently from what he desires. Thus he sets himself up as superior to the Word of God, and tears it to pieces, and destroys it; though St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 14, 30: "If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." 678)

XXX. That the Pope does not derive his authority, power, and honor from the Scriptures, but the Scriptures from the Pope. This is one of the chief articles, for which he deserves, as a true Antichrist, that Christ Himself from heaven destroy him with His rule, as Paul has predicted that He will.

Of these and similar articles there are more than can be numbered, but their common aim is to declare that the Pope is superior to God and men, that he alone is subject to no one, but everybody is subject to him, even God and the angels. Accordingly, his own followers say that the Pope is a queer product: he is neither God nor man (perhaps he is the very devil). By these articles there is fulfilled the statement of Paul in 2 Thess. 2, 3 f., where he says: "There shall come forth that man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped; whose coming is after the working of Satan," etc. By calling him that man of sin and the son of perdition he does not merely refer to his person; for that would be a small injury. But his meaning is, that the rule of this person will be nothing but sin and perdition, and that he will govern for the sole purpose of leading all the world into sin and hell. For from such articles we may gather what is manifest, *viz.*, that from the Popes nothing but sin and perdition has gone forth into the world, and is still going forth in increased measure.

678) Luther reads this text as follows: "Der Obere soll des Unteren Erleuchtung weichen."

The very persons who are keeping up the Canon Law have confessed, although secretly, that it is reeking with avarice and violence. And that is true; any one unwilling to lie must confess it. For if you wish to know in a few words what is contained in the Canon Law, listen: To sum it all up, it is this: *The Pope is a god on earth, sovereign over all things in heaven and on earth, in spiritual and secular affairs, and everything belongs to him. For no one dare say to him, What are you doing?*

That is the abomination and corruption of which Christ speaks Matt. 24, 15, saying: "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand)," and St. Paul in 2 Thess. 2, 4, saying: "He as God sitteth in the temple of God" (that is, in the Christian Church), "showing himself that he is God."

That no one, or only a few people, have dared to tell the Pope this abomination of his is not surprising; for it has been predicted that he would order all who resist him to be burned, and that he would have a following made up of all kings and princes.

If the seduction of Antichrist were of such a gross kind that everybody could discern it, or of such a paltry kind that kings and great Johnnies were not the most prominent people in it, it would have been useless for the prophets and apostles to cry out and to write so much and so seriously about it.

When Christ walked on earth, many people who heard His Word and beheld His works said to those who would not admit that he was the Messiah: "When Christ cometh, will He do more miracles than these which this man has done?" (John 7, 31.) So people are whispering also in our day: When Antichrist comes, what greater wickedness could he commit than the Pope's rule has already committed, and is daily committing? For it is incredible, if his rule were from God, that he should cause such perdition, that so much sin should arise from it, and that the Evil Spirit should be allowed to rule so mightily in it. Still we do not believe it until we are lost, and discover that we have been much too slow in recognizing Antichrist.

In like manner, at the beginning of creation, the greatest evil sprang from the best creatures. For it was in the angels' loftiest choir, where God has done His greatest works, that Lucifer sinned and wrought great damage. The greatest sin and injury happened in Paradise to the first and the best man. After that there grew up giants and tyrants from none else than from the holy children of God. Gen. 6, 4. And Christ, the Son of God, was not crucified except in the holy city of Jerusalem, where He had been most highly honored and had performed many miracles. Nor was He crucified by any one else than the princes, chief priests, and the most learned and most holy. And Judas had to bring shame on no mean calling, but on the order of the apostles. In a similar manner God has blessed no city on earth with as much grace and as many

saints as Rome, and has done more for this city than for any other. Accordingly, Rome, like Jerusalem, must, in return for all these benefits, do God the greatest damage, and give to the world the real, most noxious Antichrist, who does more harm than Christ has done good in former times. This is surely the course that matters are taking, and all this must be done in the name of Christ and of God, and under pretense of their authority, so that nobody believes it, until He comes Himself and, as Paul says, lights up this darkness with the radiancy of His appearing.

Let this suffice for this time, as regards the articles. But if anybody is the Pope's kin and has a desire to defend and uphold these articles, let him come forward. I shall make them still plainer to him and cite many more of them. This is to be only the beginning of a serious effort; for hitherto I have only toyed and played with the Pope's business. I have begun it in God's name, and I hope that the time has come that without me this affair will go forward by its own force. I wish to be understood as herewith referring to all those articles as Christian and true which in the recent bull have been condemned and burned by the messenger of Antichrist, now arrived from Rome. And I wish to charge the Pope with as many articles that are unchristian and antichristian as there are articles of mine that have been condemned. If they may burn my articles, which contain more Gospel and solid Holy Scripture—I am saying this without vanity as an honest truth and am willing to prove it—than is found in all the books of the Pope, is it not much more proper that I burn their unchristian books of Canon Law, which contain nothing that is good? And though something good were found in it, as I must confess there is in the decretals, still it is all made to serve harmful purposes and to confirm the Pope in his antichristian rule. Moreover, none of its good parts are ever observed, because their zeal exhausts itself in observing only its wicked and harmful parts.

I leave everybody his opinion. For myself I say that I am chiefly impressed by the observation that the Pope never yet has refuted with Scripture or reason any one who has spoken in opposition to him, but has always by violence, excommunication, through kings, princes, and other followers of his, or by cunning and deceitful words, suppressed, exiled, burned, or put them to death in other ways, as I am willing to show convincingly from all histories. For this reason, too, he has never consented to being tried in court and suffering sentence to be pronounced on him, always declaiming that he is above all Scripture, all courts, and authority.

Now, it is certainly a fact that truth and righteousness do not shun trial, yea, love nothing better than light and judgment, they gladly submit to inspection and tests. The apostles invited trial by their enemies when they said, Acts 4, 19: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye," so sure were they of the truth. But the

Pope would blind everybody's eyes, and suffer no one to judge him, while he judges everybody, so uncertain and timid is he in his affair and cause. And this dingdonging in darkness in which he engages, and his dread of coming into the light has the effect on me that I could not believe the Pope even if he were altogether an angel. Everybody ought to hate doings that are going on in darkness, and ought to love the light. Amen.

In all these matters I offer to stand trial before everybody.

Samson, Judges 15, 11: "As they did unto me, so did I unto them." [679]

And thus the stage was set for the great day at Worms.

679) XV, 1619-1631.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

I. A Sermon on Indulgence and Grace.

I. You must know that some of the later teachers, as, *e. g.*, the Master of the Sentences, St. Thomas, and those who follow them, ascribe to repentance three parts: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Although the ground for this distinction, being an imaginary one, can hardly, or not at all, be found in Holy Scripture, nor in the writings of the ancient holy Christian teachers, we shall, for the present, allow this distinction to stand, and speak after their manner.

II. They say: The indulgence does not dispense from the first or the second part, that is, from contrition or confession, but from the third, namely, satisfaction.

III. Satisfaction, again, is divided into three parts: prayer, fasting, almsgiving. Prayer is to embrace all sorts of actions peculiar to the soul, such as reading, meditating upon, hearing the Word of God, preaching and instruction, and the like. Fasting is to embrace all actions for the mortification of the flesh, such as keeping vigils, labor, sleeping on a hard couch, wearing peculiar garments, etc. Almsgiving is to embrace all sorts of good works of love and mercy done to our fellow-men.

IV. None of these teachers entertains any doubt that the indulgence dispenses from the works of satisfaction which are imposed on us on account of our sin, and which we are obliged to do. For if it were to dispense from these works altogether, there would be nothing good left that we might do.

V. Besides, many of them have entertained a strong notion, though not definitely settled, whether the indulgence does not grant exemption from something else than these good works that are imposed on us, namely, whether it dispenses also from the punishment which divine justice exacts on account of sin.

VI. For the present I shall not reject their opinion, but this much I will say, *viz.*, that it cannot be established from Scripture that divine justice desires or exacts from the sinner anything else than only his heart-felt and genuine contrition or conversion, together with the resolve henceforth to bear the cross of Christ and to practice the aforementioned works, even when they have not been imposed by any one. For thus He says through Ezekiel (chap. 18, 21; 33, 14-16): "If the wicked will turn . . . and do that which is lawful and right, . . . all his transgressions shall not be mentioned unto him." Likewise, He Himself absolved all in this manner: Mary Magdalene, the

paralytic, the adulteress, etc.; and I would like to hear who can offer other proofs for this, aside from the opinion which some doctors have conceived of this matter.

VII. There are instances, indeed, where God, in accordance with His righteousness, punishes some and urges them to contrition by means of remorse, as in Ps. 88 (Ps. 89, 31-34): "If his children forsake My Law, . . . then will I visit their transgression with the rod. . . . Nevertheless, My loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him." But to dispense from this remorse is in nobody's power except only God's; and He will not dispense from it, but declares that He will inflict it.

VIII. Accordingly, there is no name by which we might call this imaginary remorse, nor does anybody know what it is, if it is not this punishment; nor are the aforementioned good works to be regarded as this remorse.

IX. I say that, even if the Christian Church should resolve to-day and declare that the indulgence grants exemption from more than the works of satisfaction, it would nevertheless be a thousand times better that no Christian should purchase or desire indulgences, but should rather do the works and suffer the remorse. For the indulgence is not, and cannot be, anything else than a dispensation from good works and necessary remorse, which we should rather choose for ourselves than omit, albeit some of the new preachers have invented two kinds of remorse, *medicativas* (healing) and *satisfactorias* (compensatory), that is, remorse by which satisfaction is rendered, and remorse by which an improvement is brought about. But, God be praised! we have greater liberty to despise such piffle than they have to manufacture it; for all remorse, yea, all that God lays upon Christians, is for their improvement and salutary to them.

X. It is not to the point to say that there is too much of remorse and of works required, and that a person in this brief life cannot perform all, and therefore needs indulgences. I answer that there is no basis for this, and it is pure fiction; for God and the holy Church impose no more on anybody than they are able to bear, as St. Paul, too, says that God does not suffer any one to be tempted above that he is able. It serves not a little to bring the Christian Church into disrepute to charge her with imposing on men more than they can bear.

XI. Even if the penances fixed in the Canon Law were still in force, and for every mortal sin there would be imposed a penance of seven years, still the Christian Church would have to regard them as fixed in such a way as not to impose on them beyond what a person is able to bear. Now that they are not in force, we should much less hold that more is to be imposed than a person can well bear.

XII. True, they say that with the debt of remorse still undischarged the sinner must be remanded to purgatory; but this is not the only baseless and unproven thing that is said.

XIII. When God at all times freely pardons sins by His inestimable grace, and asks nothing in return for it except that

the sinner lead a good life thereafter, it is a great mistake for any one to imagine that he is going to render satisfaction for his sins. The Christian Church may exact something; likewise, it may and should remit something, and not impose anything that is grievous or unbearable.

XIV. Indulgences are tolerated for the sake of imperfect and lazy Christians, who are unwilling to exercise themselves bravely in good works, and wish to avoid suffering; for indulgences improve no one, but tolerate and permit the imperfections of people. Accordingly, we should not speak against indulgences, but, on the other hand, we should not advocate them either.

XV. It would be much safer and better if a person purely for God's sake would make a contribution for the building of St. Peter's, or for any other object that may be proposed, than to buy indulgences for that purpose. For there is danger that he may make his contribution for the sake of the indulgence and not for God's sake.

XVI. It is a much better work to give to a needy person than to contribute towards a building; it is also much better than the indulgence given in return for it, for, as I said, it is better to do one good work than to omit many; indulgences, however, are a dispensation from many good works; or if they are not, they are no dispensation.

Yea, in order that I may instruct you properly, pay attention: Leaving out of consideration the building of St. Peter's or the indulgence, you must, first of all, give to your needy neighbor if you want to do any giving. If a situation like this should arise that there is in your town no longer any person who needs your help,—which God will never allow to happen,—then, if you like, you are to give to the churches and shrines in your town for their embellishment, for chalices, etc. And if that, too, is no longer necessary, then, if you like, you may give to the building of St. Peter's or to other purposes. But even then you should not do it for the sake of the indulgence, for St. Paul says (1 Tim. 5, 8): "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." If any one tells you differently, you may without compunction regard him as one who is misleading you and is looking for your soul in your purse; and if he finds pennies in it, he will like them better than all souls.

You say: In that case I shall never buy an indulgence. I answer: That is what I have already stated in the preceding, *viz.*, that it is my will, desire, request, and counsel that no one should buy indulgences. Let lazy and sleepy Christians buy indulgences: you should go your own way.

XVII. There is no command nor counsel regarding indulgences, but they belong to the matters which are tolerated and permitted. Accordingly, they are not a work of obedience nor meritorious, but a dispensation from obedience. Therefore, while

we should restrain no one from buying them, we should nevertheless draw Christians away from them and urge them to do, and confirm them in doing, the works, and to submit to the remorse from which they have received a dispensation.

XVIII. Whether souls are drawn out of purgatory by means of indulgences, I do not know, nor do I as yet believe it, although some of the recent doctors say so; but they cannot possibly prove it, nor has the Church as yet made a decree concerning the matter. Therefore, it is a safer and a better way if you pray and labor for them yourself; for that is approved and reliable.

XIX. Regarding these points I entertain no doubts, and they are sufficiently grounded in Scripture. Therefore you should not entertain any doubts either. Let the scholastic doctors be scholastics; all of them with their opinions are not sufficient for making one sermon that you may rely on.

XX. Although I am now branded a heretic by some to whose money-chest this truth is injurious, yet I am not greatly concerned about their babbling, since it comes only from a few darkened brains that have never sniffed the Bible, have never read the Christian teachings, have not understood their own instructors, but are almost decaying in their battered and shattered opinions. For if they had understood them, they would know that they must not abominate any one before they have heard and overcome him in an argument. May God, however, give them and us to be right-minded! Amen.[680]

II. Fragment of a Lecture Delivered by Luther Not Later than the First Quarter of 1518.[681]

(At the head of the document Loescher has supplied the following summary:—

Question: Whether a person is bound to despair in his sins. Answer (Conclusio): A person is not bound to despair either in tribulation or in sin.

As real impatience, consternation, and melancholy do not arise chiefly from a multitude of tribulations and adversities or from the loss of any possessions, but rather from an affection of the mind which conceives a fear because of such things, and foolishly strives after much happiness and glory, so despair, too, and spiritual melancholy, or the consternation of a person's

680) Loescher, *Ref. Akta* I, 469-475; XVIII, 270-275.

681) This document was found in a manuscript of 1518, containing, besides this fragment, the theses of September 25, 1516, which Bartholomaeus Bernhardi defended for his degree, and an exposition of Thesis VI of the Heidelberg Disputation. (See *Leipz. Debate*, p. 213 ff.; 219.) It was first published in *Unschuld. Nachr.* for 1703. XVIII, 30-35. The original is in Weimar Ed. I, 346-349.

conscience, does not arise from a multitude of sins, but from the multitude of a person's good works, or from love of self-righteousness, which indeed abhors sin, but foolishly strives after a righteousness of its own.

The first premise is clear from what the prophet says (Ps. 5, 11): "Let all those that put their trust in Thee rejoice; let them ever shout for joy"; that is, all those who are believers in Christ are sharers in the sufferings of Christ, and have them in abundance. The wicked, too, endure sufferings, but they do not trust [in God]. Only those who know what they are to rejoice and be glad for do not grieve over sufferings because of this wisdom of theirs; they do not become confounded by them, nor impatient over them, and cherish no desire for good fortune, an easy life, and honor. Those who do not know, and will not know, that we must rejoice and be glad in God become aggrieved, confounded, and impatient, not because misfortune and tribulation overtakes them, but because, when it comes, they do not direct their mind to God but to an easy life and good fortune. Accordingly, they flee, and yet cannot escape, from suffering, because they flee what they should not flee from. Thus we read in Is. 30: 15, 16: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength; and ye would not. But ye said: No; for we will flee upon horses; therefore shall ye flee; and, We will ride upon the swift; therefore shall they that pursue you be swift." Accordingly, this melancholy is owing to the mind being set on joy and glory; if it would not cling so much to these things, it would esteem tribulation nothing.

The second premise is likewise clear; for many and great sinners have been saved who would not have been saved if a multitude of sins must cause despair. But by an inordinate affection of the mind a person in the moment of despair looks backward, wishing that he might find something good in himself, in order to set up over and against his sins which oppress him. Not finding anything good, and not knowing that he must take refuge in the mercy of God, he must necessarily despair. Thus he dies with his unhappy conscience, and, hastening to the judgment of God, says to himself and argues with himself thus: "Oh, if I now had many good works that I achieved! Oh, if I had not done anything wicked! Oh, if I had remained pure at all times! These words are so full of folly that there can be no folly greater than this. What else do they show than this, *viz.*, that the person rests his confidence, not on God, but on good works? For he says that he would and could trust God more confidently and joyfully if he had an abundance of good works and righteousness of his own. For if you trust in God on account of your good works, you trust in your good works rather than in God; and what can there be more horrible and wicked than that? Such persons do not say (Ps. 5, 7): "I will come into Thy house in the multitude of Thy mercy," but, "in the multitude of my righteousness." For if

you have trusted, or would trust, in God only because you have done or because you would do good, you should trust so much the more when you have committed sin and done evil, lest it be said of us (Luke 8, 13): "For a while" (while Thou art doing them good) "they believe, and in time of temptation fall away." For that is the way people who have an abundance of good things and honor imagine that they will rejoice in God; but temptation shows that they trust more in their abundance of good things and in their honor.

It is to be feared that a terrible wrath is impending, and there is special danger in our days that it will overtake us, because so many who lead pious and holy lives imagine that they have the very strongest confidence in God, and yet, without being conscious of it themselves, they rather trust in their holiness, and their dying hour will prove it when they enter into the judgment of God and [see that they cannot] die the more confidently because they are conscious of having led a good life and, trusting in that, hope in God. They fare like the person who wants to plant his foot firmly on a log swimming in the water and is suddenly thrown into the deep. Thus their works, when they will be examined at the tribunal of God, will be found to be horrible sins, because they trusted in them and would not, as absolutely defenseless sinners, in genuine sincerity give all honor to the mercy of God. Accordingly, as impatience in days of prosperity is vain, so, too, the confidence which accompanies our merits is vain; and just as it is useless to be patient in prosperity, so it is likewise useless to cherish confidence in our merits. For it is of the essence of patience that it manifests itself in misfortune. Likewise, the essence of confidence is to become manifest only in sins, if indeed the inestimable mercy of God, in order to communicate itself to us, and to take away our confidence [in ourselves], has given us the Law which has concluded all under sin in order that it might have compassion on all. (Rom. 11, 32.) For where there is no law, there is no sin; where there is no sin, there is no mercy; where there is no mercy, there is no confidence; where there is no confidence, there is no salvation. And thus the strength of sin is the Law; the strength of the Law, however, is mercy; the strength of mercy is confidence; the strength of confidence is salvation, the strength of salvation is God through Jesus Christ. For the Law works sin, but mercy works and fulfills the Law; confidence works mercy, salvation works confidence; God, however, works salvation, and everything.

Corollary.

This is true also in temporal affairs; for our temporal possessions are bestowed on us by God to the end that through them we may the better learn to fear, love, and trust in God; by the perversion of our mind it happens that we serve and trust in God less and with greater difficulty [in prosperity]; yea, we seek, serve, and trust in God more and with greater ease

in misfortune than in prosperity. It is equally so in spiritual affairs: the gifts of grace and merits are bestowed on us by God in order that we might be trained by them to trust in God in increasing measure; and lo, by the frailty of our mind, which takes a pride in these things, it happens that we trust in Him less and with greater difficulty; yea, we do not trust in Him at all, while we find it easier and safer to trust in God in sins than in happiness and with our merits. And just as it is dangerous for a person in prosperity to become easy-going, because he does not learn how to love God, or at any rate learns it very rarely and with difficulty, so it is likewise dangerous in this instance when a person is permitted until death to enjoy abundant grace and merits; for he will hardly, or only with great difficulty, learn to trust in God; yea, without the Spirit he will not learn it at all.

However, lest any one should be offended at these words [I add this]: The objection is raised: It follows, then, that we must sin and omit doing good, or as it was objected to the apostle (Rom. 3, 8): "Let us do evil that good may come." For when a person speaks as I have done, it seems as if we gave men license to sin, and forbade them to do good, for the reason that doing good were injurious to their salvation. Accordingly, in order that this point may be rightly understood, I answer: Good works are not forbidden; yea, in these words we are most powerfully urged to do them; but it is only our most subtlely carnal mind which trusts in works and not in the mercy of God alone, that is to be instructed, in order that it may know that genuine hope is nothing else than a power that is infused into us. With all our good works and efforts we must strive to obtain from God this hope, that we may become worthy of mercy, but not that, having done these works, we promptly become bold as though we had gained possession of hope. We are rather to know that we must at all times strive for it and seek it. For that is the reason why sin exists, *viz.*, that in sins we might become capable of hope. But we may do good works as many as we please, still we have to acknowledge that we are always in sins. But when a person has not led a good life, this is indeed difficult, but to the others it is still more difficult. Therefore, our only refuge is prayer, in order that despair may be conquered on either side, and hope may not fall either to the right or to the left, even though "a thousand fall at thy side and ten thousand at thy right hand." (Ps. 91, 7.)

II. Summary Luther's "Resolutions," that is, Explanations of the Ninety-Five Theses.

(Dedicated to the Pope.)[682]

The principal topics discussed are:—

1. The meaning of the term *poenitentia;* th. 1-4; col. 100-109.
2. The limit of the Pope's authority: th. 5, 6, 20-24, 26; col. 109-118, 167-175, 178-196.
3. The Office of the Keys and the authority of the Church: th. 7, 38; col. 118-128, 212-217.
4. Limitations of the penitential canons to the living: th. 8, 9, 12, 13; col. 128-135, 139-145.
5. The error of extending these canons to the souls in purgatory: th. 10, 11; col. 135-139.
6. Spiritual deficiencies still found in the dying, and their effects: th. 14, 15; col. 145-151.
7. Inquiry into the state of those in purgatory: th. 16-19; col. 151-167.
8. Equality in spiritual affairs of the power of the Pope, bishops, and pastors: th. 25; col. 176-178.
9. False claims of indulgence-preachers: th. 27, 28; col. 196-198.
10. False assurance produced by indulgences: th. 29-35, 52; col. 199-209, 228 f.
11. Christian assurance of forgiveness: th. 36, 37; col. 209-212.
12. Difficulty of combining true repentance with indulgence: th. 39-51; col. 217-228.
13. Indulgences must not force the Gospel into the background: th. 53-55; col. 229-230.
14. The "treasure of the Church" from which indulgences flow: th. 56-61; col. 230-249.
15. Comparison of the true treasure of the Church with indulgences: th. 62-68; col. 249-253.
16. How to treat papal commissioners of indulgences: th. 69-74; col. 253-258.
17. Irreverent claims of the indulgence-preachers, and their effect on the common people: th. 75-91; col. 258-268.
18. Conclusion: true and false preachers: th. 92-95; col. 269.

The *Resolutions* are prefaced by the following:—

PROTESTATION.

Inasmuch as this is a theological disputation, I shall herewith reiterate the protestation customary at universities, in order to calm the minds of those who may have been offended by the mere text of the disputation (the Ninety-five Theses).

682) XVIII, 100-269.

To begin with, I testify that I intend to say or maintain nothing except what is maintained and can be maintained primarily on the ground and by means of the Holy Scriptures; next, by means of the church fathers that have been received and hitherto recognized by the Roman Church; and all this in accordance with the canons and the papal decretals. In case, however, any point cannot be established or disproved from the aforementioned sources, I wish to maintain such a point merely as a debatable subject, in accordance with reason and experience, always reserving to my superiors their judgment in such a matter.

One thing only I add and claim in accordance with the right of Christian liberty, *viz.*, that I may reject or accept mere opinions of St. Thomas, Bonaventura, and other scholastics or canonists, when they are set up without a Scripture-text and proof. I do this in accordance with the counsel of St. Paul (1 Thess. 5, 21): "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," although I am aware of the opinion of certain Thomists, who assert that St. Thomas has been approved by the Church in every point. It is sufficiently known how far the authority of St. Thomas is acknowledged. By this protestation I believe to have made it sufficiently plain that I may err, but cannot be a heretic, no matter how those who think or wish otherwise may become enraged and gnash their teeth.

The contents of the *Resolutions* have been sketched by Koestlin from the view-point of Luther's theological development, and of this sketch the following is a free reproduction:—

In the *Resolutions* Luther treats the contents of his Ninety-five Theses on Indulgences one after the other. He does this with scholarly calmness, notwithstanding his intimate and personal relation to the Theses, and occasionally his theological investigation of the subject is deeply penetrating. At important points he is still searching and probing the matter under discussion, but it is just at these points that he is seen to advance still further in the direction in which he started out when writing the Theses.

On the basis of Scripture-texts and of the meaning of the Greek term for repentance which he had discovered, Luther adheres to his declaration regarding that repentance or change of mind which God demands, and maintains the distinction which he had drawn between the repentance and the external acts of confession and penances which have been ordained, not by Christ, but by the Pope and the Church, and hence are subject to change at the option of the Church.

However, a matter of special concern to Luther is the fundamental question regarding the act itself by which God remits sin and guilt. Also according to Catholic teaching this remission is to precede the penances and indulgences. Of this remission Luther had already treated in the Latin sermon on penitence which he published while working on the *Resolutions*. His

various expositions of this matter are shot through with the basic testimony that forgiveness is obtained by faith, by which the humbled sinner clings to the grace of God and the wounds of Christ, regarding his sins as transferred from himself to Christ the Lamb of God, and Christ's righteousness, virtues, and merits as made his own. Yea, by means of his faith the Christian may claim for himself all that he finds in Christ. In view of this Luther proposes to tolerate no longer the torture of auricular confession, which seeks to enforce a command that is simply impossible, *viz.*, the detailed enumeration of every single sin. On the other hand, Luther utters a warning similar to that in the sermon just referred to, *viz.*, that the sinner is not to put his confidence in his own remorse or contrition, which will still be found to be insufficient in every case; but he urges the sinner to seek righteousness and salvation by faith. Yea, he declares, assuming an instance that is really impossible, that even if a person, without being contrite, or without considering himself adequately contrite, were to believe the divine word of forgiveness, he would actually possess forgiveness.

Still more Luther is engrossed with the question, what may be the force of the announcement of absolution by the priest in [the sacrament of] penitence [that is, confession]. In the Theses Luther had declared that the Pope remits guilt only in so far as he declares it remitted by God. Now he raises the question, whether this view does not leave too little meaning for the absolution pronounced by the priest, in view, namely, of the fact that the Lord has said: "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." But he meets this with the counter-question: Are we to believe that the word of the priest actualy appropriates forgiveness to every person whom the priest absolves, even if the person lacks the inward qualification of faith? Are we to hold that the believer is restricted for his salvation to the word of the priest, which pronounces a human, hence possibly an arbitrary, judgment?

Luther himself is still struggling for clearness on this point, but even at this time he strikes out plainly enough on the path towards the solution to which he adhered later. God cherishes in His heart and manifests to us and in us His forgiving grace before He sends us the priest to pronounce absolution. For the sinner's terrors of conscience and his desire for grace are themselves an operation of grace in the sinner. By the express word of absolution God wishes to make us sure of forgiveness and to send the peace of forgiveness into our heart. If, without a word of this kind, we were told to rely on an inward experience of divine grace, we would easily be led to tempt God by our desire for such an experience. Yea, thus understood, it is not a mere announcement of forgiveness, but actual forgiveness that takes place in the absolution of the Church. But remission is received by this act of absolution, not on account of the priest, or on account of some power

residing in him, but on account of Christ's word of promise, Matt. 16, 19 and 18, 18. We are not to base our faith on the authority of the Pope or priest, but on this promise. This promise stands firm, even though the priest is an erring and frivolous person. Faith in the promise is the only sure means by which we actually obtain forgiveness in the absolution of the Church. We may and should firmly trust in it; having obtained absolution, we are not to doubt that our sins are forgiven. You have as much, says Luther, as you believe on the basis of Christ's promise. Christ Himself is our peace while we believe. On the other hand, where faith or confidence is lacking, the forgiveness which God desires us to enjoy in absolution is made void. The same applies to the gift of grace in Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is impossible that a sacrament should redound to the salvation of a person if he does not believe. The doctrine that the Sacraments of the New Covenant bestow justifying grace, provided a person does not oppose an obstacle, is false, yea, heretical.

In a less distinct manner Luther discusses the other question, what would be the status of a Christian to whom a priest arbitrarily or on account of some unfounded suspicion of the person's genuine penitence has denied absolution, while the person in reality possesses the inward qualification, especially, believing confidence in Christ and His promise. But we can gather Luther's answer to this question from all those passages in the *Resolutions* where he speaks of faith. To faith, wherever it exists, Luther ascribes participation in all the treasures of Christ, even independently of the absolution of the Church, which has been ordained for the strengthening of faith. This corresponds with what we shall hear Luther say further on regarding the efficacy of the excommunication of the Church. Another series of theses which Luther at this time proposed for discussion at the university of Wittenberg shows how little he would leave to the personal judgment even of a faithful priest regarding the state of the soul of a parishioner who is seeking absolution from his confessor; when a priest observes in a sinner a desire for absolution and faith in the same, he is to regard this as a satisfactory indication of the parishioner's proper disposition.[683]

Thus, in Luther's view the so-called power of the keys given to the Church and the priest is changed from a *domination* over souls into a *service* that is rendered to souls for the advancement and sealing of their faith, and the salutary effect of which depends on their own attitude towards the keys, namely, on their real confidence in the divine word of grace. "It is not the will of Christ," says Luther, "that a person's salvation is to be in the hands or at the option of a man." Again: "This, then, is the precious, valuable power for which we are

683) XIX, 760-765.

to render profoundest thanks with all our heart to God, who has bestowed it on men for a comfort to their consciences, provided only they believe in the truth of Christ's promise." However, Luther's opponents believed that he had attacked the entire validity formerly ascribed to the ecclesiastical, priestly, hierarchical action, inasmuch as he seemed to make the efficacy of this action to depend on an inner subjective act of a person, namely, on his faith.

The *Resolutions* take a step forward again as regards the *treasure of the Church* from which indulgences are said to flow. In the Theses Luther had protested that the merits of Christ and of the saints must not be declared to be that treasure, must not be made the source, available at men's option, for this gift of rather questionable value (the indulgences). Now he proceeds to extol highly what Christ has acquired and merited for us, to place that above all indulgences, and to accord the enjoyment of it simply to faith. Merits of the saints, however, which, according to Catholic teaching, represent a part of this treasure, Luther refuses to recognize any longer; no saint, he says, has ever adequately fulfilled the commandments of God, let alone overfulfilled them. This thesis followed necessarily from the profound conception of the commandments, chiefly of the basic commandment of the love of God, which had became a characteristic of Luther long ago, and from his strict view of sin as inhering even in man's best works. This thesis, Luther holds, admits of no doubt; on the contrary, it is so certain that the contrary view is heretical.

Towards *the authority* of the Church, the hierarchy, *the Pope*, Luther indeed, as he had assured the Pope, enjoins reverence and obedience again and again, also in the *Resolutions*. He raises no protest against the penances which the Church imposes on the sinner even after he has obtained the grace of God. He sticks to his thesis, that "the commissioners of papal indulgence must be admitted with all reverence," giving as the reason this: "Because in all things we are to yield reverently to the authority of the Pope." However, since the publication of the Theses, and quite plainly in the *Resolutions*, it is becoming clearer and clearer within which limits only Luther acknowledges this power and authority, and what he means by all those things in which men are to yield to the Pope. Inwardly, in their relation to God, the Judge, the Avenger, the Pardoner, men's souls and consciences have become free. Only regarding external ordinances and duties, penances and indulgences, the authority of the Pope still makes dispositions relating to their souls. The very character of the Pope's authority has in its entire essence become different from what it was on the basis of the teaching that prevailed formerly. This authority has indeed been conferred on the Church and on the Pope by God, and for that reason can demand obedience, however, only in the same way as other ordinances that regulate our external

life, such as that of the state or the magistrates. Luther bases the argument which he introduced before, "that we must yield to the authority of the Pope," only on the word of the apostle which treats of the powers that be, Rom. 13, 2. Accordingly, he now regards the conscience of Christians as free, also when they are confronted with judicial pronouncements, yea, even with anathemas, of the Pope, as long as these are essentially without warrant. Let no one become confused in his conscience as though an unjust sentence handed down by the authority of the Pope is to be approved by Christians, and for that reason is to become an object of reverence and fear. "For the Pope applies the binding key (hence excommunication) to some who are not bound by God, and compels them to submit to his binding; but this does them no harm, because it is a mere ecclesiastical punishment: we may dread it, but it is not to cause us scruples of conscience." Nor does Luther want men to fear such sentences of the Pope because of the word of Christ: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,"—for the text does not apply to these sentences,—but only in the same manner as men dread suffering or violence inflicted by any other authority, and to which they submit from reverence to God, who permits these sufferings. Instead of the Word of Christ aforementioned, Luther cites, as showing the proper Christian conduct under such affliction, a word of Christ like this: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek," etc. Matt. 5, 39; also Rom. 12, 19: "Avenge not yourselves."

Quite naively Luther in the *Resolutions* speaks of a time when the Roman Church was not yet superior to the other churches, at least not to those of Greece, as *e. g.*, the time of Gregory I, at the beginning of the seventh century. Luther relates this simply as a historical fact, without reflecting that with this statement he offends greatly against the Roman doctrine that at all times the entire Christian Church was by right subject to the see of St. Peter at Rome, and that all who, like the Greeks, were not subject to it were rebelling against an ordinance of God. This brief historical remark carried dogmatical significance; for while Luther still regarded the sovereignty of Rome in the form in which it exists as a result of divine providence and of God's will, he does not regard it as existing by divine right, unalterably connected with the essence of the Church: it has simply been ordained by God in a similar way as the secular monarchies, which God permits to arise, and towards which He enforces obedience when they have become established.

Even now Luther raises a distinct objection to the teaching of two kinds of swords that are said to be placed in the hands of the Pope, one representing his spiritual authority, the other his secular, or "material," power, and constituting the Pope the overlord over the secular kingdoms, as papal decrees have declared that he is. Luther does not even discuss such a far-

reaching sovereignty of the Pope; evidently he refuses absolutely to admit it. But he does not even acknowledge as a right use of the secular sword of the Pope its employment against heretics. It is indeed a convenient way to burn errorists and heretics instead of destroying their errors and heresies (with spiritual weapons). But by employing this method the Pope ceases to be a loving father and becomes a terrible tyrant. With bitter scorn Luther adds: by a similar ingenuity the keys of the Church might be interpreted to mean that one key unlocks the treasures of heaven, the other the wealth of the world. But Rome is shrewd enough not to do this; for while Rome unlocks the treasures of heaven by means of indulgences, it has turned the Church into an insatiable maw that devours the riches of the world.

In view of the abuses existing in the Church and of the imposts which the people everywhere are made to bear, though they cannot be justified at all, Luther finally declares: "*The Church is in need of a reformation,* and this reformation must be taken in hand, not by the Pope nor by the host of cardinals,—the late council has shown the futility of such an attempt,—but by the entire world of Christians, yea, by God alone. The time, however, to begin this reformation is known only to Him who has created time."

These are the most important conclusions at which Luther arrives in his *Resolutions* in regard to the questions of doctrine and church policy which had been raised by his Thesis. On what grounds does he establish his statements regarding these questions? Who is to decide on which side is the truth? What would be Luther's plan in case the decision of the Pope to whom he appeals should be rendered against him?

He prefaced his *Resolutions* not only with a letter to the Pope, but also with a solemn declaration, or "Protestation," such as was customary at theological disputations. He did this in the hope of calming the minds of those who might have been offended at the contents of his Theses.

He declares that he "intends to say or maintain nothing except what is maintained and can be maintained primarily on the ground and by means of the Holy Scriptures; next, by means of the church fathers that have been received and hitherto recognized by the Roman Church; and all this in accordance with the canons and papal decretals." Only one privilege he claims by virtue of his Christian liberty, *viz.*, to reject or accept at his discretion such opinions of St. Thomas, Bonaventura, and other scholastics as are set up unsupported by a Scripture-text and argument, and this in accordance with the counsel of the Apostle Paul: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

At this time, then, Luther did not yet draw a sharp distinction between the authority of the Scriptures and that of the fathers and the decisions of the Church and the Pope. He did not

yet believe it possible that there could be a discrepancy between the contents and meaning of the Scriptures and the teaching of the fathers and heads of the Church, thus giving him the right and making it his duty, as well as that of every other conscientious interpreter of the Scriptures, to take his stand only on the highest authority of the Scriptures and to contradict all the other authorities. Accordingly, throughout these *Resolutions* he is at great pains to "prove also by the authority of the holy fathers" what he is teaching on the basis of Holy Scripture. Whenever he finds that later decisions of the Pope and the Church are rather contrary to the Scriptural doctrine which he has brought to light, he nevertheless seeks to interpret them in the sense of the Scriptures. Thus the *Resolutions* finally land him in the same position which he occupies in his letters when he declares himself willing to submit to the verdict of the existing Church, and meekly expecting the Pope's decision. This position of Luther is the more remarkable because at that time his colleague Carlstadt, who at first had been far more timid than Luther, had declared himself quite definitely on the relation of the authority of Scripture to that of the Church, and had proclaimed the principle that Scripture must prevail also over and against the Church. For already in the beginning of May Carlstadt had published theses which he had headed with this as his principal thesis: "The text of the Bible is given the preference, not only over one or more teachers of the Church, but also over the authority of the entire Church." [684])

From Luther's *Resolutions* we see indeed what became apparent even in previous writings, that he actually regards as true only such matters as have stood the test of an examination to which he has subjected them by the norm of the Holy Scriptures. While he sought for additional proofs from the fathers, the testimony of the Scriptures was decisive for him. While he is not always conscious of the fact that the fathers are not in all points in harmony with the Scriptural teaching which he maintains, he is nevertheless governed entirely by Scripture; the confidence which he still places in the fathers causes him not to perceive their aberrations. Finally, there occur in the *Resolutions*, alongside of expressions of reverence and obedience to the decisions of the Church and the Pope, very vigorous statements of another kind, in which Luther declares these decisions valid only when they are confirmed, independently of faith in ecclesiastical authorities, by inner reasons of their own, and above all by the testimony of Holy Scripture. In these statements Luther seems ready, if need be, to defend the truth of Scripture in opposition to all the authorities of the Church. *E. g.*, in contradicting the prevalent teaching regarding the treasure of the Church he declares: Let us suppose that the Roman Church to-day were to decide in favor of this teach-

684) Loescher, *Ref. Acta* II, 80.

ing, that would not be sufficient; for it would furnish us with no better reason for this teaching than the good pleasure of the Roman Church and the Pope. That would not be a sufficient reason for those who are not subject to the Roman Church. We shall have to find an authority or sound reasons that are regarded as valid by them also. Luther demands that also the traditions of "great and holy men" be tested before they are received. We are not to say: I would rather err in company with such great men than find the truth. With reference to the prevalent teaching Luther says: "You may say: Has St. Thomas and all the rest of the teachers erred so greatly? Is the Pope and the Church universal in error (for they hold the same view)? Are you the only and the first man to hold the right view? In the first place, it is not only I, but truth with me, and many others besides, that have doubted, and still doubt, the validity of indulgences." In the second place, Luther thinks that he can say in reply that the Pope also favors his view, in so far, namely, as there is no papal decision which actually derives indulgences from the treasure of the merits of Christ. Regarding such declarations and decisions as the Pope issues on his own authority, Luther says: "It is of no moment to me what the Pope likes or dislikes; he is a man like the rest; there have been many Popes who loved errors and vices, yea, even monstrous things." He proposes to listen to the Pope only when the latter speaks in accordance with the existing canons of the Church, or renders a decision jointly with a council.

Still, Luther could not as yet surrender his confidence that in what he had taught in defense of the truth of God's Word he was in agreement with the entire Church of antiquity, and that even the present authorities of the Church could not reject his teaching. As yet he could not become used to the thought that it was really he alone, together with a few others, that had to defend this truth. He had not yet reached the point where he was able to formulate his principles regarding the norm and source of truth, as Carlstadt had done in the statement aforecited. Judging from the statements which we have noted, it is still of great value to Luther to have the Pope on his side; and he would also like to cling to the councils. He cannot abandon the idea of a (visible) Christian, ecclesiastical community, ordained by God, embracing all, and united in love and humility. Accordingly, he always speaks at this time of the Beghards, that is, of the Bohemians, or Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who had separated from the Roman Church, simply in terms of scorn, although the suppression of these people by secular force is repulsive to him. He states this not only in the *Resolutions* which he presented to the Pope, but also in the exposition of a Psalm which he prepared for Jerome Ebert—to cite only one instance. He regards them as "blinded neighbors," as "miserable, contemptible people," who in proud

conceit claim for themselves alone all knowledge, delight like the Pharisees in raking the muck of Rome, and deny Christian love, which teaches us to suffer with the brethren and to bear their burdens.

Nevertheless, even in these *Resolutions* Luther does not conceal from himself the fact that in the present condition of the Church he can hope for very little. He says: The Church may have in her midst men that are both learned and holy; but the misfortune of the present time is that these men cannot help the Church. A sad proof of what learning and holy zeal can accomplish Luther beholds in the failure of the council that was summoned by Pope Julius II (the so-called Lateran Council). Luther thinks that he may praise the present Pope Leo as an upright and learned man, with whom all well-meaning people are pleased. But, he asks, what can this one man accomplish in the present confusion, in a century that deserves to be ruled by Popes like Alexander VI, at Rome, that Babylon, which is itself the boldest scorner of upright people and of its own Popes? "The wise man," he continues, "keeps silent in such times; I, too, if I wished to be regarded as wise, would keep silent. But for the encouragement of the learned and wise it is better that fools and children speak the truth than that the truth be hushed entirely." Luther declares that he will not even remain silent if he should be threatened with the secular sword of the Pope; for it is written: "Fear not them which kill the body," etc., again: "Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father which is in heaven." "Let them decry me as a heretic because I do not, as they allege, admit the authority of the Church of Christ and of the Holy Scriptures in the Catholic sense; still, supported by my conscience, I believe that they are in error, while I truly love the Church and her honor. He that judgeth me is the Lord, although I know nothing by myself. It is He that has forced me to publish these Theses."

Again we may ask, as we did in connection with some of Luther's letters, whether Luther's position, in view of these statements, was not actually self-contradictory, untenable, and unbearable to himself. But it was for this very purpose of showing through what a gradual and painful process Luther had to arrive at his convictions that we have presented for review in this connection his varying declarations. He expressed his thanks at a later time to the churchmen who had disillusioned him of his good opinions and hopes, because they had driven him onward to the full and clear faith in the Word of God alone, and to faith in a Church of Christ that is not bound to the Pope, the hierarchy, and material majorities.[685]

685) Koestlin, *l. c.* I, 179-186.

IV. Luther's Appeal from the Pope Ill Informed to the Pope to Be Better Informed.

In the name of the Lord. Amen.

In the year 1518 after His birth, Roman Number six, on Saturday, the 16th day of the month of October, in the sixth year of the pontificate of our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Leo, by the providence of God the tenth of this name, there appeared personally before me, a notary public, and before the other witnesses undersigned, who had been specially called and summoned, the reverend father and Magister Martin Luther, of the order of Augustinians, Professor of Holy Scripture, and duly appointed and called as principal teacher at the university of Wittenberg, belonging to the diocese of Brandenburg; the said father had and held in his hand, chiefly in his own behalf, a certain manuscript of a protestation and appeal, by the contents and tenor of which, as he himself declares, he purposes to make protestation and appeal from a commission which, as he assures us, has not been well instructed by our aforementioned Holy Father the Pope, and which has been appointed at the solicitation of the fiscal procurator of the said Pope; also from the supposed judges and citations, and from the actions taken collectively and singly, that have followed, and may still follow, from the same, and from any grievance whatsoever. And this manuscript he exhibited and forthwith, as its contents declare, made protestation and appeal to our Most Holy Lord the Pope aforementioned and to his Apostolic See, and asked for apostolic letters;[686] he declared that he would submit, made his protestation, and did each and every thing, as recorded in this manuscript, which manuscript, appeal, and protestation is herewith given, word for word, and reads as follows:

Since the legal device of an appeal or protestation has been ordained by law for the comfort and protection of the oppressed; moreover, since all codes concede and permit an appeal to be taken, not only from oppression and violence already done, but also from such as is still to be done and is being threatened: therefore, I, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, Professor of Holy Scripture, and duly appointed and principal teacher at the university of Wittenberg, belonging to the diocese of Brandenburg, declare, chiefly in my own behalf, before you, a notary public, as a public and official person, and before the witnesses here present, that I intend and propose to take an appeal, and to ask for, and to take out, apostolic letters, and I herewith depone:—

In the matter of indulgences varying and uncertain opinions

686) *Apostolos*, a forensic term, signifies in the Pandects "report"; here it means a document authorizing a plaintiff to appeal his case to a higher court.

prevail among the doctors, both the canonists and the theologians, inasmuch as the holy Church until this day has made no certain and definite ruling regarding these matters, except what can be gathered from the chapter *Quod autem* and the chapter *Cum ex eo*, and from a few others, *viz.*, that an indulgence is a dispensation from a penitential satisfaction which has been imposed by a confessor. Rendering satisfaction, however, cannot be anything else than such works as prayer, fasting, and giving alms, which are the best of all works. Such is the unanimous opinion of all theologians and of the entire Church. From the chapter *Abusionibus*, in the gloss on the word *mendaciter*, it is clear and manifest that by indulgences souls are not lifted out of purgatory, for the reason that they are reserved for the judgment of God. Besides, it is uncertain, nor has it been settled by the Church, what is the method of that help (and how far it avails) by which indulgences are imparted to the dead; this all the more, because, as is stated in Distinction 25, *Qualis*, not only the punishment, but also the guilt is remitted in purgatory. However, it is certain that all guilt is remitted by God alone, through the infusion of grace, which cannot be instilled by indulgences.

Furthermore, in matters that are doubtful and problematical men are not only free to debate, and one learned man is permitted to contradict another (principally, however, in matters that are not commands, nor counsels, nor necessary to salvation), but it is even dangerous to contend stubbornly for a view contrary to the one I just expressed; yea, it is forbidden by the Holy Ghost in the words of 1 John 4, 1, where we read; "Try the spirits whether they are of God," and by Paul (1 Thess. 5, 21): "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," so that even the Church, governed by the same spirit, has commanded in the chapter *Abusionibus* that preachers of indulgences shall not be permitted to lay before the people anything else than what is contained in their letters.

These things being so, I relied on these rights, yea, on these commands, and began to debate this subject, moved thereto by the immoderate hawking and more than immodest advertising with which some as apostolic (so they claimed) commissaries and indulgence-venders, were trafficking indulgences in our country, so that under pretense of the indulgence they even resorted to unheard-of and scandalous practices of avarice, greatly to the scorn and mockery of the Roman Church, to the contempt of the keys of the Church, and with no small injury and detriment to the reverence due the Apostolic See. Furthermore, to mislead the people, they introduced new dogmas, daring to teach men, in terms that cannot be understood at all, and to scatter tracts among the people which assert, that indulgences are always indulgences, enabling men to obtain the justifying grace of God; for they sold the inestimable gift of grace and other things, set forth in their little book called *Instructio*

Summaria,[687] which is full of altogether absurd and false assertions, to their own shame and disgrace and that of those who are the authors of the same.

And yet, I did not debate the Creed, good morals, or the commandments of God or of the Church, but, as I said, the indulgences, which are not a matter either of command or of counsel, nor meritorious, so that even without them the Church would prosper nevertheless, and would perhaps be in a better condition than now, and believers would be saved by more merits, which are now set aside by the indulgences; yea, even the scholastic teachers confess that it is better to render satisfaction by personal acts than to purchase immunity by means of indulgences. Moreover, I debated with the understanding that this entire disputation was to be submitted, not only to the Church, but to the judgment of anybody who might hold a better opinion than mine; above all, however, to our most holy Father and lord in Christ, our Lord Leo X, the present Pope, as is clearly seen from the epistle with which I prefaced my *Resolutions.* Thus I treated in a disputation matters that are doubtful, free, uncertain, not yet settled, and not necessary to salvation, so that there can be no just cause or occasion at all for citing or dragging me into court. By right I ought to have been even secured against, and free from, the difficulties caused me by jealous and malignant men, because people are safe while discussing serious, necessary, and divine affairs.

Notwithstanding this, certain servants of mammon and restless slaves of filthy lucre, who are seeking not the pasture of the sheep of Christ, but only their milk and wool, and who were afraid that as a result of this disputation the believers in Christ would see through their revenue-producing and most greedy cunning, and thus their trade, as it deserves, would be completely wrecked, burst into flame like a fire in brambles. By preaching indulgences not only immodestly, but also fraudulently, even for the deception and injury of souls, they went utterly astray from the Pope's intention and the holy desires of the fathers. But they added even this evil, that, in order to give color to their avarice and impious tyranny, they befouled me with their frivolous and lying denunciations; they made me so odious to our most holy lord, Pope Leo X, etc., and to that excellent gentleman, Magister Marius de Peruscis, the fiscal procurator of His Holiness, and finally so incensed and exasperated me that the aforementioned Magister Marius, upon their relentless instigation against me as a person suspected of heresy and one who had plotted defamation, depreciation, damage, and dishonor to the ecclesiastical power and disrespect to the keys, handed my case over to the most holy fathers in Christ, Magister Jerome de Ghinutiis, the Bishop of Ascoli, Auditor of the Camera, etc., and to Silvester Prierias, of the order of

687) XV, 301 ff.

preaching friars, Master of the Papal Palace; yea, rather, they forced this issue through him.

Now as to these judges and auditors, they are suspected by me,—however, by saying this, I intend nothing derogatory to their honor,—because the reverend father Silvester has sufficiently manifested his embittered mind towards me elsewhere, *viz.*, in the treatise which he has published against my Theses,[688] and in which he has yielded more than is fair to his opinion, and has passed judgment on me and condemned me as a heretic and an insane person, and has applied to me many other opprobrious names. Furthermore, it is a plausible assumption that he is showing to his brethren, who are principally concerned in this business, more favor than to the matter in dispute, so that by his aid my very adversaries become judges in their own suit. Moreover, the Thomists, although they are not agreed in their opposition to me, have frequently been found to be people who have in defense of their opinions dared greater and other things than the merits of any one warranted or the equity of the law allowed. Finally, since this reverend father has been instructed and trained only in the scholastic theology and is too little conversant with the Holy Scriptures, as can be seen from his manifold writings; and since this case requires judges that are well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and the church fathers, therefore it cannot be assumed that he is qualified to render a correct verdict in this case. As to Magister Jerome, bishop, etc., however, it is justly feared that he might take the side of his colleague,—I say this without animosity, in reverence, and not intending any insult,—and might easily leave it to father Silvester, because of the latter's theological profession, to render the verdict which Magister Jerome would be well qualified to render in secular affairs. But since it is sufficiently understood that the present case, which relates to the Creed and (as my adversaries claim) involves heresy, is beyond the scope of Magister Jerome's calling, both judges are exceedingly suspected by me.

Now, these judges have had me cited and summoned to appear at Rome in person, at a place which appears to me the most precarious and unsafe, because it is generally known what savagery has been practiced there against many persons that trusted themselves to Rome, even such as had come with a safe-conduct. And it is clearer than noonday that even the best Pope, our most holy lord Leo X, and many other right reverend masters, the cardinals, have frequently been in peril of their lives.[689] Accordingly, it is not very safe to live there, and we could almost speak of Rome in the words of Isaiah (chap. 1, 21): "Righteousness lodged in thee, but now murderers."

688) The *Dialog* of Prierias, XVIII, 310 ff.

689) In January of that year the conspiracy of the cardinals against Leo X, under the leadership of Cardinal Petrucci, had been discovered.

Even if conditions at Rome were quite safe and without danger, still such a far journey is quite impossible for my enfeebled body; besides, there are so many dangers on the road, stealthy plots, in particular, designed by all my adversaries, who are so great and numerous that great lords and princes, both of the spiritual and the secular estate, have absolutely advised me not to go beyond the walls of Wittenberg, and have told as a sure fact that they had certain knowledge that attempts would be made on my life either with the sword or with poison. And since I belong to a mendicant order, have no property, and live under a vow of obedience to another, my poverty itself would indeed be a sufficient obstacle to prevent my going.

Now, then, since I cannot go to Rome because of this quite justifiable fear, which may also befall a stout-hearted person, and because I am hindered by these reasons, which are altogether lawful, I have submitted a request by the most gracious Prince Frederick, the most puissant Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, to have my cause submitted by the Apostolic See to a few learned, upright, and honorable gentlemen, to be judged at a safe place. Before these I would be quite willing to appear and do everything that is in accord with justice.

While our most holy father and lord in Christ, our lord Leo X, whose goodness and love of truth are justly celebrated throughout the world, had graciously made me this concession, it was brought about by my adversaries, who feared for their cause, that my affair was transferred to the Right Reverend Father and Master Thomas, priest of the title of St. Sixtus and Cardinal, Legate de Latere of the holy Apostolic See to all Germany;[690] for they were in hope that, since this most worthy master, etc., belongs to their order, their shaky and miserable cause would be more readily advanced by his genius.

Although this most worthy master, etc., might justly appear suspected because of his being of the party and sharing the views of my adversaries, and for some other probable reasons, he has nevertheless, being in every respect a very learned urbane gentleman, manifested towards me at first a paternal and gracious disposition; afterwards, however, intending, as he said, to aid me, he simply urged and insisted that I must recant my Theses before they had been discussed and a decision rendered on them. He rejected and set aside my most respectful protestation in which I declared myself ready either to make answer publicly or to render a written reply privately, and to submit my whole contention principally to the judgment of the holy Roman Church, next, to that of the famous universities of Basle, Freiburg, Loewen, and, if necessary, also the aged mother of all universities, the University of Paris, which, as regards theological matters, is both the most flourishing of all and the most zealous.

690) Cajetan.

All this he set aside contemptuously and would not even inform me or indicate to me in which points I was in error, and in what respect, in order that, seeing my error, I might have been able to recant. One thing only he did: he held up to me two assertions, which I hope to have answered quite sufficiently, as can be seen from the letters which I sent to the Right Reverend Master. But he would compel me peremptorily and categorically to recant, threatening me that if I did not either do this or appear in Rome within a certain specified time fixed in the citation aforementioned, he would put me and all who held with me and favored me under sentence of excommunication, and place all others to whom I might turn for protection, no matter who they might be, under the interdict of the Church. He also declared that for all these measures he had received ample authority from the aforementioned see.

I find myself burdened, aggrieved, and oppressed by these measures: for even to-day I declare that I have merely engaged in a debate, that I have put everything at the feet of our most holy Master Leo X, who may slay or quicken, reject or approve me, as he pleases, and that I am willing to acknowledge his voice to be the voice of Christ dwelling in him. I protest according to law that I will not say nor hold anything that cannot be substantiated from and by the Holy Scriptures and the church fathers and the holy canons, as can be seen in my treatise entitled *Explanations*.[691]

This protestation which I have often made elsewhere I herewith renew. Accordingly, from the aforementioned, our most holy lord, the Pope ill informed, and from his would-be commission, which, as was stated before, has been appointed upon the solicitation of the aforenamed fiscal procurator, and from the would-be judges, and from the aforementioned citation, and from the would-be trial that perhaps already has been or is to be instituted against me, and from all that has resulted or may still result therefrom, and from each detail thereof, also from any future grievance that may arise therefrom, I appeal to our most holy father and lord in Christ, Lord Leo X, by divine providence the tenth Pope of that name, to be better informed. I make my appeal with this document, and ask for apostolic letters for the first, for the second, and for the third time, urgently, more urgently, and most urgently, that they may be given me if there is any one present who will and can give them to me. In particular, I ask from you, Master Notary, a written affidavit wherein I submit myself, and those who now hold or may in future hold with me, to the protection and defense of our aforementioned most holy lord, the Pope, after he has become better informed. I protest that to the best of my ability I shall pursue this appeal of mine at the proper time and at convenient places by action of nullity,[692] or

691) XVIII, 100 ff.

692) "A proceeding, in the civil law, to set aside a contract or judicial act as void or voidable." (*Stand. Diction.*).

otherwise, and I reserve the right to add to this document, to withdraw it, to change, correct, and improve, always without prejudice to any other legal advantage.

With reference to all that is aforestated, and to every particular item thereof, the reverend father Dr. Martin Luther, professor of sacred theology, and appellant, has asked that as an apostolic affidavit one or more, one public or several public, document or documents be made and prepared for him by me, the notary public, who subscribes himself at the end. Done at Augsburg, and in that city at the cloister of the Carmelite brothers, in the same year, Roman Number, day, month, and papacy as stated above, there being present at the place mentioned the reverend gentlemen, Mag. Wenceslaus Steinbeiss and Bartholomaeus Utzmeir, priests of the diocese of Augsburg, who were summoned and asked to be witnesses to the foregoing.

And I, Gallus Kunigunder von Herbrachtingen, layman, of the diocese of Augsburg, notary public, both of the holy apostolic and the imperial jurisdiction, inasmuch as I have been present, and personally present, together with the witnesses aforenamed at the delivery of the aforementioned document of protestation, of appeal, of submission of the plea for apostolic letters, of the protestation, and of each and every one of the items aforerelated while they were being done and enacted, and have seen and heard each and every detail done. Therefore I have with mine own hand written this present public instrument, have completed, subscribed, published, and reduced it to this public form, and have affixed my ordinary seal and my customary name to it, having been asked and demanded to authenticate and make affidavit to all and each of the aforementioned items.[693]

V. Luther's Appeal from the Pope to a Council.

In the name of the Lord. Amen.

In the year 1518 after His birth, Roman Number six, on the 28th day of the month of November, in the sixth year of the pontifical reign of our most holy father and lord in Christ, Leo, by divine providence the tenth Pope (of that name), there appeared in the presence of myself, a notary public, and of the witnesses subscribed below, who had been specially summoned and asked for that purpose, the reverend father, Master Martin Luther, Augustinian of Wittenberg, Magister of sacred theology, and duly appointed first lecturer on theology at the same place, chiefly in his own behalf, however, without revoking or withdrawing any authority from his attorneys appointed by him in whatever manner, and had and held in his hand a manuscript and appeal, with the intention and for the purpose of making

693) Weimar Ed. II, 28-33; St. L. Ed. XV, 595-604.

a protestation and appeal, and to that end seeking to obtain apostolic letters to a higher court: saying, relating, and at the same time making a protestation and appeal, on the ground of specified and just causes contained and enumerated in the said manuscript, to the next council in the immediate future which shall have been legally assembled in the Holy Spirit, all other gatherings, factional meetings, and private conventions being absolutely excluded and utterly set aside; at the same time protesting and doing everything else, as has been more fully stated, enumerated, and described in the writ of appeal, the contents of which are the following and read thus:

Whereas the redress of an appeal has been devised by the authors of the laws for the comfort and alleviation of the oppressed; and whereas the laws permit an appeal not only from grievances and wrongs that have already been inflicted, but also from such as are still to be inflicted, and are threatened, so that an inferior person cannot restrain one from going before a superior; and whereas it has been sufficiently admitted that a holy council, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit and representing the Holy Catholic Church, is in matters of faith above the Pope, hence disqualifying also the Pope from ordaining that no appeal from himself to a council may be taken, because in that case he would transcend the functions of his office; and whereas an appeal is a safeguard of such a kind that it is by divine, natural, and human right at the option of everybody, and not even the reigning prince can nullify it;

Therefore, I, Brother Martin Luther, of the order of eremites of St. Augustine at Wittenberg, unworthy Magister of sacred theology, and duly appointed first lecturer at the same place, have appeared, chiefly in my own behalf, before you, as the notary public and a public and official person, and before the witnesses here present, with the intention and for the purpose of making a protestation and appeal, and of demanding and receiving apostolic letters; however, with this express and solemn protestation that I do not intend to say anything against the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which I regard as the mistress of the entire world and as sovereign over the same, nor against the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, nor of our most holy lord, the Pope, when well informed. But if by reason of weakness or under provocation of my adversaries some thoughtless remark should escape me, that might not be right or uttered with insufficient reverence, I am willing to correct and change it.

Now, since he who takes God's place on earth and whom we call Pope, being a man like us, raised up from among men and, as the apostle says, surrounded with weakness, can err, make mistakes, lie, and become vain, and is not excepted from the general statement of the prophet (Ps. 116 11): "All men are liars"; and since Peter, the first and holiest of all the Popes, was not free from this weakness, so that in shameful hypocrisy he

walked contrary to the truth of the Gospel and had to be sharply, though religiously, rebuked by the Apostle Paul, as is written Gal. 2, 14: therefore we, who believe in Christ, are instructed and assured by this glorious example which the Holy Spirit presents to the Church and has had recorded in the Scriptures that, when even the sovereign Pope falls from the same weakness as Peter, or from a similar frailty, and issues a command or decision contrary to the divine commandment, we must in that case not only refuse to obey him, but may, yea, must, with the Apostle Paul withstand him to his face, so that the inferior members by a godly precaution for the entire body, as it were, may succor the weakness of the head and overcome it. And for a perpetual and salutary remembrance of this weakness it may have come to pass by divine providence (as is not indistinctly suggested to us) that not only St. Peter, but also his salutary corrector St. Paul have jointly and together become the protectors and regents of the holy Roman Church, both the heads and also we, the members, should thus be ever reminded, not only by the Scriptures, but also by this visible memento, of this necessary and most useful example. And in case some one, aided by the power of the mighty, should rise superior to the rest to such an extent that he could not be resisted, there would then remain the one redress aforementioned, *viz.*, the appeal by which the oppressed could be raised up again.

And so I, too, the aforesaid Brother Martin Luther, applying this redress in the manner and for the purpose indicated, say and depone as follows:

In the recent past, indulgences were being preached quite immodestly in our Saxon country by some who claimed to be papal commissioners, in such a manner that, to squeeze the money out of the people, they began to preach absurd, heretical, and blasphemous things, misleading many souls and exposing the authority of the Church to the vilest mockery. This is clearly shown by their booklet, called *Summary Instruction*, particularly as regards the authority of the Pope over purgatory, notwithstanding the canon *Abusionibus*, etc., makes it certain that the Pope has no authority whatever over purgatory. Moreover, the entire Church and all teachers hold unanimously that an indulgence is nothing else than the remission of a penance for satisfaction imposed by a judge, as the text in chapter *Quod autem* clearly states. A penance for satisfaction, however, imposed by a spiritual judge (or confessor) is nothing else than such works as fasting, prayer, giving alms, etc. Hence, by the keys of the Church nothing can be remitted that has not been imposed by the Church. Likewise, from the 35th Distinction, chapter *Qualis*, it is quite clear that in purgatory not only the punishment, but also the guilt is remitted; the Church, however, can as little remit guilt as it can bestow grace.

When, with such grounds for my basis, I opposed their mad and insincere teaching by the method of holding a disputation,

those persons, enraged because of their greed of filthy lucre, began first in public denunciations to declare to the people with the most shameless recklessness that I was a heretic. Next, they denounced me to our most holy lord, Leo X, through a certain Marius of Perusco, the fiscal procurator, as a person suspected of heresy. And when by the influence of this very gentleman they at length obtained an order to cite me in behalf of the Right Reverend masters and fathers Jerome of Ghinucci, Bishop of Ascoli, examiner for the Camera, and Silvester Prierias, Master of the Palace, they had me summoned to Rome, there to appear in person. Since even at Wittenberg I was not safe from persecution, and still less could undertake such a far journey or abide safely at Rome, because I am both a poor and also quite a feeble and sickly man; and besides, since the aforementioned judges were for many reasons suspected by me, especially because the reverend father Silvester was already my adversary and had published a *Dialog* against me, nor was he, as the case required, conversant with the Holy Scriptures, while Master Jerome was better acquainted with jurisprudence than with theology, and accordingly, it was justly feared that he would make too many concessions to the theologian Silvester, because the case did not at all pertain to his science,—therefore I submitted a request through the most gracious Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Grand Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, to have my case transferred to parties who are not suspected, however, to honest and good men.

Armed with palpable and very genial cunning, they now induced our most holy lord Leo, etc., to transfer the case to themselves, that is, to the Right Reverend Thomas, Cardinal of St. Sixtus, at that time Legate of the Apostolic See in Germany, because he belonged to the order of the preaching friars, and was the leader of the party of the Thomists, which is opposed to the party to which I belong. Accordingly, it was readily expected that he would render a decision against me and in their favor; or that I, terrified by the mere sight of this judge, would not appear and hence might be condemned for contumacy. Nevertheless I relied on God's truth, and with much labor and amid great dangers proceeded to Augsburg, where the aforesaid Right Reverend Master Thomas, Cardinal of St. Sixtus, received me very kindly. This gentleman set aside my protestation and offer by which I engaged in the presence of a notary and witnesses, also of four excellent men, counselors of His Imperial Majesty, to make answer either publicly or privately, adding, at the same time, that I would submit myself and my statements to the holy Apostolic See and to the judgment of the four famous universities of Basle, Freiburg, Lowen, and to the mother of all universities, the celebrated University of Paris. He only insisted peremptorily, no doubt from overgreat partiality for his brothers, that I must recant, and would

not show me my errors, nor offer me proofs and testimonies by which I might have been led to see my error. Thus he assumed the character of an unjust judge, and finally, in spite of all my pleading and wishing to learn, and in spite of my request for instruction, he uttered harsh and cruel threats contained in his apostolic breve, if I should not recant, and ordered me not to come into his presence any more.

Grieved by such harsh treatment, I made appeal at that time from his unjust and violent wantonness and from his pretended commission to our most holy lord Leo X to be better informed, as has been more fully set forth in the writ of appeal regarding this matter. However, also this appeal, as I stated, has now been refused, and I to this day desire nothing else than to be shown my errors, no matter who he is that will do it. I solemnly protest once more and declare myself ready to recant when shown conclusively that I have taught something wrong. Furthermore, I have submitted my whole disputation to the Pope, so that I have nothing else to do than to await his decision, which I am doing to this day. Nevertheless I hear, and the aforesaid Right Reverend Master Thomas, Cardinal of St. Sixtus, writes to my most gracious Prince Frederick, etc., that they are proceeding against me at the Roman Curia, and by the authority of our most holy lord, etc., the would-be judges are prosecuting the case to bring about my condemnation, without heeding my faithful and supererogatory obedience shown by my appearing at Augsburg despite of all hardships and inconveniences, and without regarding my sincere offer to them to make answer publicly or privately. Yea, they despise a sheep of Christ that humbly begs to be instructed regarding the truth and to be brought from error, but without listening to an argument or giving a reason, from sheer tyranny and plenitude of power, they only insist that I must recant my opinion, which I am in conscience bound to regard as true. They would mislead me into denying faith in Christ and the true meaning of the revealed Scriptures, as much as my conscience can grasp it, although the authority of the Pope cannot be employed contrary to the Scriptures, or as being superior to the same, but must be used for the defense of, and in subjection to, the Scriptures and the truth, and the Pope has received no authority to destroy the sheep, to cast them into the jaw of the wolf, and to hand them over to errors and to teachers of errors, but to call them back to the truth (as it behooves a shepherd and bishop, the vicegerent of Christ, to do). Accordingly, I feel myself offended and aggrieved because I see that through such violence matters will be brought to such a pass that hereafter no one will dare to confess Christ Himself or to teach the Holy Scriptures in his own church, and that I shall thus be drawn away by force from the genuine, sound Christian faith and understanding and hurled into vain and lying opinions of men and delusive fables current among Christian folk.

Therefore I appeal from the aforesaid our most holy lord Leo, who has not been well informed, and from the aforementioned would-be authorities and judges, and from their citation and process, and from all effects that have resulted or may still result therefrom, and from each part of them, and from all excommunications, suspensions, and decrees imposing an interdict, from ecclesiastical punishments, penances, and money fines, and from all other announcements and proclamations of heresy and apostasy which they pretend, and which they, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever have attempted, made or purposed, or may still attempt, make or purpose, and from their incapacity—meaning no detriment to the honor and esteem otherwise due them—as from unjust, unfair, altogether tyrannical and violent proceedings; also from all future grievances which may arise from that quarter both to me and to all and each of my present or future adherents,—I appeal, I say, to a council that is to be held, which council is to be a legitimate one and summoned to meet at a safe place, to which I, or my attorney whom I may send, may and can come safely; and to the person or persons to whom individually or collectively I may and can make appeal by right, privilege, or custom. And I make protestation and appeal by this writ, and ask for the first, second, and third time, urgently, more urgently, and most urgently, that apostolic letters be given me, if there is any one who is willing and qualified to give them to me. I ask this particularly of you, the notary. And I protest that I shall prosecute this appeal on the principle of nullity, misuse, injustice, and unfairness, or in whatever way I may be best able to do this, reserving to myself the right to add to it, to withdraw from it, to change and revise it, and to share the privilege of any other legal redress which is permitted to me or those who are now siding or may in future side with me.

When he had deposited this writ in my presence and that of the witnesses subscribed below, as aforerelated, he testified and protested in express terms that he could not, either personally or through his attorney, come to him from whom he had made appeal, for fear both of many who are seeking to take his life, and of him from whom he has made appeal, and also because of the dangerous journey.

For this reason he prayed with becoming zeal that apostolic letters, such as he was by right entitled to, be accorded and given him by me, the notary public. Accordingly, upon his petition I have herewith caused such letters apostolic as he is entitled to, or at any rate an affidavit, to be prepared and executed for him by this writ. Concerning all and each of these details he asked of me, the undersigned notary, to have one or more public documents prepared and engrossed.

Done at Wittenberg, in the District of Brandenburg, in the year, Roman Number, day, month, and pontifical reign, as given above, under the government of the most glorious Max-

imilian, Roman Emperor, at about three o'clock, at the chapel of Corpus Christi, located in the parish cemetery of the said place, in the presence of Christoph Behr, vice-count of Costnitz, by holy apostolic and imperial jurisdiction, and of Jerome Papist, clergymen of the district of Hof, these being witnesses asked and summoned for the purpose.[694]

694) Weimar. Ed. II, St. Louis Ed. XV, 656-665.

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